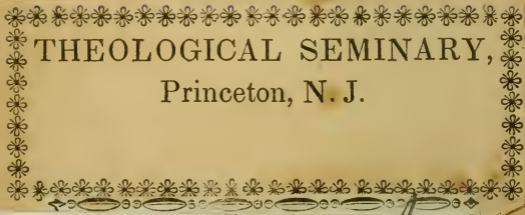




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Exposition, doctrinal and
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THE
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HERMENEUTICAL, EXEGETICAL,

AND

PHILOLOGICAL LIBRARY.

VOL. VI.

THOLUCK'S EXPOSITION OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

EDINBURGH:

THOMAS CLARK, 38, GEORGE STREET;

J. G. & F. RIVINGTON, LONDON;

AND W. CURRY, JUN. & CO. DUBLIN.

MDCCCXXXIV.

EXPOSITION,
DOCTRINAL AND PHILOLOGICAL,
OF
CHRIST'S SERMON ON THE MOUNT,
ACCORDING TO THE
GOSPEL OF MATTHEW;
INTENDED LIKEWISE AS
A HELP TOWARDS THE FORMATION OF A PURE
BIBLICAL SYSTEM OF FAITH AND MORALS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN OF
DR. A. THOLUCK,

CONSISTORIAL COUNSELLOR AND PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE ROYAL
UNIVERSITY OF HALLE, AND CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON,

BY THE
REV. ROBERT MENZIES.

VOL. I.

“Habet Scriptura Sacra haustus primos, habet secundos, habet tertios.”
AUGUSTINE.

EDINBURGH:
THOMAS CLARK, 38, GEORGE STREET.
MDCCCXXXIV.

THERE stands a wondrous fabric old,
Whose sides around grey mist enshrouds ;
THree-score and five fair shafts uphold
The base ; the dome surmounts the clouds.

FUll many an age, our sires surveyed
This pile with contemplation deep,
And as they upwards gazed and prayed,
Sweet tears of rapture oft would weep.

IN heights and deeps, in east and west,
With searching eye the critic sought,
And all he found of fairest, best,
He for this temple's service brought.

THe monarchs in the realms of mind
Stooped to the humblest office here,
And Science's proud lord inclined
Docile as little child his ear.

O happy times, when Christ the Lord
Found simple hearts to own his sway,
What phantom from the gulf abhorred,
Has scared those generous loves away !

WHere now the priests of spirit meek,
Who, ere they teach, deign to be taught,
Choose the good part, and lowly seek
At Jesus' feet what Mary sought ?

Each for himself a temple rears,
 And his own image sets on high.
Men are as gods ; lo now appears
 Fulfilled the serpent's prophecy !

O Love eternal, fix once more
 Thy dwelling-place in man's cold heart,
 Our members dead, to life restore,
 And thine own sacred rights assert.

'Tis thine to teach : 'tis ours to bow
 With meek docility to thee,
 Our only rightful Master, thou,
 The children of thy wisdom, we.

(MATT. xi. 19.)

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IN the composition of this work, the aim which the author had in view, was to evince, in the instance of a minute section of the Holy Scriptures, the riches of their contents, hoping thereby to encourage others to an even more and more conscientious, and comprehensive, and profound scrutiny of them. Combined with this, it was also his design to demonstrate that, in order to arrive at fixed and certain results, in the exposition of Scripture, nothing more is generally required than a careful and complete investigation of its statements. It is true that, in many points of view, the Sermon on the Mount has claims of its own to a thorough discussion. Still the present work was not called forth by the sense of any positive want of that kind, but has rather arisen from an interest in the promotion of Christian science in general. The author, accordingly, has bestowed upon it more than usual labour, which has not been spared even upon the correction of the press.

My main endeavour has been to explain Scripture out of itself, and one text by another; and hence much pains has been bestowed in the collection of parallel passages, the import of which may not at once, perhaps, meet the eye, but, upon a deeper study, will scarcely be mistaken. From this method of interpretation, in which the import of every point in the circumference is sought to be determined from the whole remainder of it, and at the same time from the centre—we derive the groundwork of a Biblical system of faith and morals, so much a desideratum in the present day; and, accordingly, I have thought fit to entitle this Monography a contribution towards that object. The ideas, *Kingdom of God, Son of God, Marriage, Love of enemies, Seeing God, God the Father of men, &c.* have received a full elucidation: and hence the work is calculated not merely for the student of Exegesis, but also for the student of Doctrinal Theology and Ethics. My great wish is, that it may serve to lead divines to a careful study of the Holy Scripture, and afford some insight into the boundless stores of instructive matter which it contains. It so happens that the subjects which the Sermon on the Mount gives occasion to handle, are, for the most part, just those that possess the greatest and most direct importance for the practical clergyman.

The work has expanded into large dimensions;

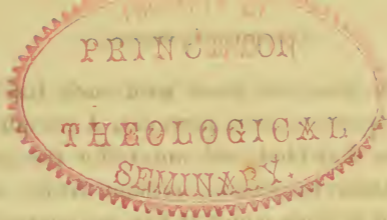
but it must be remembered, that the scope of an Exegetical Monography is different from that of a Commentary. Surely it must be desirable for all, to find here collected the researches which have been made into this important section of the New Testament, and lie scattered in so many, not merely exegetical, but doctrinal and ethical works. Methinks, however, even unfavourable judges will not fail to perceive, that I have done something more than merely collect materials, that, on the contrary, all futile hypotheses and conceits—except when deserving notice either for originality, or as characteristic of any particular set of opinions—have been passed in silence; and that, when old matter is brought forward, it has been re-produced by the author himself, and everywhere animated, and combined into a whole by reflection of his own. On no disputed point have former opinions been adduced unexamined, but have uniformly been subjected to new investigation, which has sometimes also led to new results. The critical researches handle only the weightiest and most influential passages; elsewhere the text of Griesbach is presupposed.

There is a certain class of Reviewers, compared by Jean Paul to a person who, upon being asked what sort of a creature man was, producing some tufts of hair and a few nail-pairings, replied, "Man is pretty much like that." That

this work also will meet with such Reviewers may be foreseen, still, however, I am not without hopes that God will not suffer the good it may contain to remain without fruit; of the faults and failings which it has, in common with every human production, I am myself well aware.

Δόξα τῷ Θεῷ πάντων ἕνεκα were the dying words of the great teacher of the Eastern Church.

HALLE, 7th May, 1833.



TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

IN presenting to the public the sixth Volume of the BIBLICAL CABINET, the Translator feels himself called upon to state, why he brings forward a new work, before completing the Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans. For some considerable time, unavoidable separation from the numerous authorities which it was necessary to consult, proved, if not an absolute preventive, at least a very great hinderance to the prosecution of the latter work, and induced him, in the meanwhile, to devote his labours to the new production of Dr. Tholuck which had come to hand, and for whose translation, the foreign helps then beyond his reach, he found to be less indispensably necessary. This reason, indeed, does not apply to the whole of the period; but when, at last, he might perhaps have resumed his former task, he had made such a considerable progress with the one in which he was engaged, that, to himself and the friends he consulted, it appeared advisable to

bring at least one volume to a close, and thereby in some measure secure as an ornament for the Biblical Cabinet, so exquisite a gem as the Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, a fond wish, which delay might perhaps have disappointed. With the second volume of the Epistle to the Romans, however, he has already made considerable progress, and begs to assure the public that its appearance will ere long satisfy the impatient.

He deems it unnecessary to say anything in recommendation of this second Stranger, which he now begs leave to introduce to the notice of his countrymen, however much the office he has undertaken might not only warrant, but even require him, to make known the high sense he himself entertains of its merits. So deeply, indeed, is he impressed with these, that he would feel no apprehension of its cordial reception and full success, were it not for the painful consciousness that, when reflected in such an imperfect mirror as the English tongue, and by a hand so unskilful as his own, many of those native beauties have disappeared, which must otherwise have won the admiration of all capable of appreciating piety, genius, and erudition, displayed in the holiest cause. Still, however, he is not without hopes that the inherent excellencies of the original are too striking and conspicuous to have been altogether obliterated

even by the transformation it has undergone, and that enough survives to render the work an acceptable, perhaps even a useful and improving offering to the Theologians of his native land.

It is chiefly to the rising Students of Theology that he dedicates it, the hope of benefiting whom, combined with the desire of self-improvement, forms his chief motive in undertaking the toilsome and inglorious task of translation. The want of works of this description, and, indeed, the general neglect of Exegetical Theology in our country, is felt and acknowledged by all discerning friends of the Church of Scotland at home, and is its chief reproach abroad. Systematic Theology, with which the minds of our young divines are exclusively imbued, is doubtless a useful, an indispensable subject of study. It is the scientific form which the results of Exegetical Theology assume, and upon that it has afterwards a reflex operation, for a knowledge of it becomes the best guide in farther researches into the department from which its own materials were drawn. But surely it should need few arguments to demonstrate, that no acquaintance, however familiar and extensive, with the doctrines of Christianity, in those artificial systems, according to which men have classified and arranged them, can ever dispense the professional student from the necessity of studying them in that particular garb

and connection in which God has been pleased to present them to mankind.

It has indeed been said, in depreciation of such studies, that Exegesis, even in the hands of the greatest masters, has never elicited a single new truth from the sacred Scriptures. And what if the statement were absolutely true? Does volume then constitute the only excellence of knowledge, and are there not many other qualities equally essential to its perfection? Take intensity for example. Surely there is a vast difference between the first faint and unsteady perception of a truth, and that full intuition of it which annihilates every doubt, overpowers the conviction, touches the heart, and subdues the will! Has not Christian faith manifold degrees, from the rising of the day-star in the heart, to the blessedness of full assurance? Short of that no Christian should take rest; more especially, however, are they bound to press with strenuous and incessant effort, towards the high mark, who, as the lights of the world, are called upon not merely to shine for themselves, but to enlighten and to kindle all around them; nor, of the human means for the attainment of that desirable end, does any appear so obvious and simple, as just to trace the various doctrines of our faith, up to the original fountain in which they spring, and ascertain, by a full and searching scrutiny, that they are indeed the voice of God to us, and that we know precisely what he says.

But, it is far from being absolutely true, that exegesis makes no discoveries in the Sacred volume. Undoubtedly, the grand essential doctrines of our religion lie exposed upon its surface; conspicuous even to the unlettered peasant, who, perhaps, never fancied that any language was spoken upon earth but his mother tongue, and who has no human aids to guide him in understanding what he reads, but his own untutored common sense. The word of God to man required to be adapted to all descriptions of men. Hence the Bible is the book of the simple; but for the very same reason, it is also the book of the wise. It is not the less a stream for the elephant to wade, although it will not drown the lamb. *Habet scriptura sacra haustus primos, says Augustine, habet secundos, habet tertios.* It contains hidden as well as open treasures, things hard as well as things easy to be understood. There are undiscovered aspects of its truths, secret and beautiful harmonies between them, that lie beyond the reach of the common eye, and are perceptible only to him who explores its more profound recesses with the lamp of learning and science in his hand.

Now, surely, this is peculiarly the task of such as aspire to the high office of being stewards of the *mysteries* of God. The researches of those who have gone before us in the lofty path, instead of exempting from simi-

lar labours, on the contrary impose upon us a new obligation to transmit the precious fund of sacred science, which we have inherited from them, augmented and improved, to our posterity. Like the wisdom and the knowledge of him who formed it, the mine which invites our scrutiny is inexhaustible, and, so long as the church endures, will still contain in its unfathomed deeps, many a gem of purest ray, to tempt and reward the search of the highest intellect, and the profoundest erudition.

At present, there seems to be a special necessity for pressing such considerations upon the attention of the young Theologian. The hot war which is carrying on about the external institutions of the church, is apt to lead the mind off from the higher objects for whose sake those external institutions subsist. We are so busy defending the bulwarks, that we forget to foster, we scare away by cold neglect, that Divine science, whose presence is yet the true secret of our Zion's greatness, and the only firm basis of her stability. In these circumstances, the studies of those now preparing for the ministry, are in danger of receiving a false direction, whose consequences would be unspeakably fatal. Their duty is single and clear, and all-important. It is to go to the pure fountain, and richly to furnish their minds with the divine word,—that word which has been appointed

by God as the *salt* that is to cure the corruption, the *light* that is to dispel the prejudices, the *power* that is to subdue the passions of a disordered world. Of the generation to which you are to minister, the description of the Apostle emphatically applies. They are "those who, by reason of use, have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil." They will not be satisfied with the milk of babes, but cry aloud for "the strong meat which belongeth to them that are of full age." So that, besides the general obligations of your profession, the very necessity of the times, bind it upon you, to be sinking deep your shafts in search of that purer ore which society has learned to value, and will alone receive in discharge of the sacred debt you owe her.

May this little book, by the blessing of God, be made instrumental in directing your steps into a higher walk of Theology than is at present frequented in our native land; Or, if that perhaps be too ambitious a wish, at least, may the perusal of it prove to you, what the translation has eminently been to himself, a pleasing relief from the clamour and strife of a turbulent age, an anodyne to the fears and misgivings which the cloudy and uncertain future before us is too well calculated to inspire.

GLENCAIRN, 10th May, 1834.



INTRODUCTION.

SECTION FIRST.

WHETHER THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT IN MATTHEW,
IS THE SAME WITH THAT GIVEN BY LUKE, VI. 17TH
VERSE.

THIS question must be handled, in the outset, inas-
much as it involves the question with respect to the
plan and original form of the Sermon on the Mount.

The view to be taken upon the subject, is determined
by the different general principles, held at different
periods and in different parts of the church, respect-
ing the harmony of the gospels. Entertaining, as the
expositors of the Greek church generally did, free
opinions upon the historical character of these writ-
ings, so as, for example, to allow that the Evangelists
vary from each in nonessentials, and urge, as they just-
ly might, this very circumstance in proof of the cer-
tainty of those material points upon which they all
agree, (Comp. the excellent observations of Chrysos-
tom in his Preface to Matthew, and my Commentary
upon John, c. xviii. 1,) they by no means contended
for an exact chronological order in the gospel his-
tory, and an entire conformity in the reports of our

Saviour's sayings, as given by the several writers. Accordingly we find a persuasion of the identity of the sermon upon the Mount with the discourse in Luke, spread over the whole Greek church. The case is different in the church of the west. Here, along with other tenets, that of the inspiration of Scripture was more rigidly maintained, and doctrinal zeal to vindicate it, in reference to the discrepancies of the Evangelists, and so to meet the objections of the heathen, especially of the Manichees, gave birth to the work of Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, which, on the subject of the harmony of the gospels, may be called classical. How much excellent and useful matter this father of the church has, with immense ingenuity, laid down, may be gleaned from the judgment of an author, in other respects far from partial to him, Clausen: *Augustinus Sacræ Scripturæ Interpres*, p. 112. Augustine thought himself obliged to contend for the diversity of the discourses given by Matthew and by Luke. In the particular manner in which he does so, he manifests his usual address, and whoever wishes to maintain the same opinion, cannot do better than adhere to him. According to his view,^a our Saviour first delivered the more extensive discourse which Matthew gives, upon the top of the mountain, and then descended to the plain, in order to communicate, in an abridged form, the same truths to the multitude there. The most material objections to the diversity of the discourse, arising from the

^a *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, ii. 19.

circumstance, that in both Evangelists the same incidents precede and follow it, are, by this conception of the subject, removed.

In the Latin church this was the view usually taken, and from which only men of superior acuteness, such as Maldonatus, deviate.^a Even among the Reformers we do not find the strict notions on the subject of inspiration, which in the 17th century were held by the Lutheran church to be exclusively orthodox. When Luther, speaking of the allegory borrowed from Agar in the Epistle to the Galatians, objects to Paul that "his argument is too weak to hold," it was a bold expression which, in the century alluded to, would not have escaped the severest censure and condemnation. From such expressions, however, it is impossible to construct any conclusive system of the reformer's opinions. They were the result of the moment, and on other occasions were again restricted, according as circumstances required. Calvin, on the contrary, proceeds upon fixed rules, and exhibits, in the treatment of the New Testament history, those more enlarged principles which Olshausen, among the modern believers in inspiration, has laid down in his Synopsis. In this reformer's Harmony of the Gospels (of the year 1555,) he gives up entirely the chronological assimilation of the Evangelists, and is so far from thinking that the two discourses in Matthew

^a The author of the *Opus Imperfectum* also makes the two discourses different, and agrees with Augustine in thinking, that the one in Matthew was delivered to the Apostles, and the other in Luke to the people.

and Luke are different, as to denominate "leve et frivolum" the argument brought forward in favour of that opinion, viz. that Christ speaks in the former case upon the mountain, and in the latter upon the plain. In the Lutheran church, the treatment of the Harmony of the Gospels assumed a different footing. Here, even prior to the time of Calvin, Andrew Osiander, then pastor in Nuremberg, published, in the year 1537, a work upon the subject, in which, with the exception of two narratives, he combines into one whole, all that the Evangelists relate, in the precise order in which they relate it; and thus every incident which occurs in the various gospels, in a different order, is twice and even three times repeated. He was thus naturally compelled to assign different dates to the discourses in Matthew and in Luke, and, indeed, places the latter a whole year subsequent to the former. With him Molinæus and Codman entirely agreed, as did also Jansenius in a Harmony published in 1571. None of the rest of the harmonists adopted all his opinions, although Calov, in his *Harmonia Evangelica* of 1676, Sandhagen, in his *Harmonie* (2. Ausg. 1688), Rheinhard Rus (1727), David Haubner, in his *Harmonie der Evangelisten* of 1737, and several others, come very close to him. Among the last who have adopted the rigid method of Osiander, are the Scotchman Mac-knight, translated into Latin by Ruckersfelder, Bremen, 1772, and Busching, in his *Harmonie* of 1776, according to whom Matthew and Luke report two different discourses. In the meanwhile Bengel, Clericus and others had disseminated juster views. Still, however,

at a very late period, the diversity of the two sermons has been contended for by Hess, Storr, the Dutchman Ferf, and the Catholic expositor Gratz.^a

With respect to our own opinion, we certainly will not affirm that the notion of our Saviour's having repeated afresh the chief points of a former more extensive discourse, is totally inconceivable, as many represent it; still, however, in respect that the accessory circumstances speak so powerfully for the identity of the discourses, we now, after frequent investigation of the subject, consider the question as set at rest, and shall content ourselves with shortly stating the grounds for believing them the same, and the answers which invalidate the objections to this opinion. In favour of their identity, speak the facts; 1st, That the commencement, the general train of thought, and the conclusion of both, perfectly agree; 2dly, That in both Evangelists the discourse appears in the same historical connection, that is, it is immediately followed in each by the entrance into Capernaum, and the healing of the centurion's servant,

^a Hess, in his *Lebensgeschichte Jesu* B. iii. c. 1, supposes that the choosing of the Apostles took place after the delivery of the sermon in Matthew, and that Christ then repeated some portions of what he had said upon the mountain. Storr *Ueber den Zweck der Evang. Gesch.* s. 384. Gratz in his *Comm. Zu Matth.* proposes the awkward hypothesis, that the two Evangelists give each a different discourse, and that Matthew has, by mistake, transferred much from the shorter one subsequently delivered. This very view had already been enunciated by the Socinian Wolzogen. Faustus Socinus, in his *Explicatio of the Sermon on the Mount*, likewise supposes the discourse to have been twice delivered.

(Matt. viii. 5, Luke vii. 1.) The objections to the identity are as follows: 1st, The want of entire concordance between the two. Luke, while he has in verses 24—26, 38—40, and 45, what does not appear in the other, having upon the whole much less than Matthew; besides, that there are expressions either greatly modified, verses 29, 35, 36, 44, 46, or which may even be said to have a different meaning in both discourses, v. 20, comp. with Matt. v. 3, and verses 43 and 44, comp. with Matt. vii. 16 and 18. This objection is done away by comparing many other sayings of Christ in the three Evangelists, where a diversity in the language, and in the shades of the thought, must no less be acknowledged. 2dly, The discourse of Matt. v. 1, is delivered *sitting*, that of Luke vi. 17, *standing*. The answer to this is, that in the latter Evangelist, verse 17 does not, as yet, relate to the moment when the discourse commenced, but to the time preceding it, in which the people were arranging themselves, and taking their places. 3dly, According to the former Evangelist, v. 1, the sermon was delivered *upon a mountain*; according to the latter, vi. 17, *upon a plain*. In the introduction to our exposition of v. 1st, we shall find that of these two facts, the one does not exclude the other. 4th, At the time when the sermon in Matthew was delivered, Jesus had but four apostles; for we first hear in chap. x. of his having chosen the twelve; whereas, in Luke vi. 13, he chooses them immediately before the sermon, to which Mark iii. 13, seems also to refer. It is sufficient to obviate this objection, that Matt. x. 1, speaks not of the *election*, but of the *mission* of the apostles; and hence

we have to suppose, that the former transaction took place before the discourse upon the Mount, although this Evangelist does not mention it. It would be a stronger objection to urge, that Matthew does not relate his own vocation until c. ix., and does so there in an entirely different connection. On this point we shall again speak, § 3.

SECTION SECOND.

OF THE ORIGINAL FORM AND PLAN OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

THE investigation of this point involves a more extensive critical interest, inasmuch as it exercises no slender influence upon the judgment to be formed of the authenticity of the gospels. That the first of the Evangelists^a delivers his account with a much less degree of *intuitiveness* than either Mark or Luke; nay, that he is unacquainted with the historical occasions of many of the Saviour's sayings, are inferences which have been drawn from the circumstance that he comprises in long unmethodical speeches sayings, of whose origination in precise historical events, we are informed by Luke. Chaps. x. xiii. and xxiii. are produced as proofs; and to show that such is, in these three instances, the case, an appeal is made just to the Sermon on the Mount, as affording the

^a Anschaulichkeit. That quality which distinguishes the report made by an eye-witness of any transaction.

clearest exemplification. "An acknowledged and decisive example," says Schultz, "of such a combination, is presented to us in the Sermon on the Mount, which cannot have been delivered by Christ in the manner in which we find it reported in chaps. v. vi. and vii." Now, should a more accurate investigation lead to the result, that there is no ground for considering the Sermon on the Mount as a collection of isolated fragments, this could not but have very considerable influence upon the question, with regard to the genuineness of the first gospel. But such an investigation, extended even to the most minute particulars, has in fact conducted us to the conclusion, that there is no reason for taking this sermon to pieces; and, in prosecuting it, so far were we from setting out with assuming that opinion, that, swayed by the judgment of the majority in the present day, we, on the contrary, started from the very opposite point. Let us first cast a glance at the history of the views which have been held upon the subject.

It is true, that the more ancient commentators do not aim at demonstrating a rigidly observed plan in the discourse, nor a perfectly strict coherence between all its clauses; still, however, they suppose this in general, and regard the occasional parallels to be found in Mark and Luke, and even in this very Gospel of Matthew, as repetitions of the same sayings of our Lord at other periods, and under other circumstances. Even more unfettered harmonists, such as Clericus and Bengel, parallelize, it is true, the sayings in Luke vi., but not those which appear to be identical in the other Gospels. To this Calvin forms the only

exception. He is the first, and, up to Semler, the only one, who, guided by a strong taste for what is natural, hesitated to weave even the three first Gospels, leaving John altogether out of view, into a chronological harmony. He does not scruple, accordingly, to consider as identical, if not the whole, at least the great bulk of the parallel passages in the Evangelists, although brought forward on different occasions, so that he pronounces himself upon the Sermon on the Mount, in terms precisely the same as Pott afterwards employed: *Utrique enim Evangelistæ præpositum fuit, semel unum in locum præcipua capita doctrinæ Christi colligere, quæ ad pie recteque vivendi regulam spectabant.* Hence he places side by side with Matt. v. 13, as originally identical parallels, Mark ix. 49 and 50, and Luke xiv. 34, 35; with Matt. v. 18, Luke xvi. 17; with Matt. vi. 22, Luke xi. 34; with Matt. vi. 24, Luke xvi. 13, and several times reiterates the sentiment: *Non est quod iterem, concisas referri sententias a Mattheo, et quæ uno contextu minime legendæ sunt.* At the same time, it is worth while to observe the exegetical tact with which, while recognizing the identity of many of the sayings, he still does not overlook the variety of shade in which the thought is occasionally presented.

This view of Calvin's is precisely that which we find prevailing during the last ten years of the last century, and down to our own day. Not, certainly, that any historical connection with the Commentary of the Reformer, can be traced in the case; for his exegetical writings were then as if they had died away. It was rather the researches of modern

criticism into the Gospels, which gave rise, in this second instance, to the view of the Sermon on the Mount. It is usual to name Pott as its author; before his time, however, it had been already enunciated. The notes appended by Semler to his edition of Townson's Treatise upon the Four Gospels gave the first occasion. Semler spoke of a great number of different draughts of the Gospel, as being extant in the first age, from which, by a manifold process of addition and enlargement, the books we now possess were gradually produced. The idea was seized by the acute Corrodi—probably the person who furnished Semler with the translation of Townson,—and, in the 9th vol. of his *Beiträge zur Beforderung des vernünftigen Denkens* (of 1786,) he described the Sermon as a collection of sentences formed out of various after contributions. His Essay appears not to have met with much consideration. In the year 1789, however, appeared Pott's *Commentatio de natura atque indole Orationis Montanæ*, which was soon favourably reviewed by Eichhorn in the 2d vol. of the *Allgemeine Bibliothek*, and at pages 294 and 1060, defended against the objections of Storr. From that period, the view has become the universally received one; a circumstance at which we have the less reason to be surprised, when we take into account the effectual support it has derived from the hypotheses concerning the primitive form of the Gospels, which, since that date, have been started by Lessing, Herder, and Eichhorn, hypotheses, according to which these writings have come down to us in a greatly modified and extended shape; and it is just the Sermon on the

Mount where such enlargements may most obviously be supposed.^a At the same period, the other opinion also began to be formed, viz., that Matthew, in several passages, gives us a collection of heterogeneous sayings of Christ. Hence, even in 1798, in his work, *Regel der Zusammenstimmung unserer Evangelien*, Herder pronounces with respect to the relation between Luke and Matthew in general, and with a special reference to the Sermon upon the Mount, what, with the exception of the hypothesis about an Original Gospel, continued until our days to be the most generally received opinion. "One by one did Luke hear the sayings and parables of the Saviour; and one by one did he insert them in the more ancient and shorter Gospel with which he had been sent forth, *at the place he thought best*. No wonder that not only sentences from the Sermon on the Mount, but likewise other speeches and parables, are found dispersed in his Book. , In Matthew they are inserted for another purpose of a doctrinal kind, and which is quite foreign to the Gospel of Luke. He took them up, and gave them that particular tendency which his Gospel was in general designed to have. The occasion of many is changed; several receive even a different sense."

This view of Pott's has continued, up to the present day, to be, and now is, the most general, having been adopted in its fullest extent by Künoel. Some exceptions, however, this period does present. To say nothing of the fact, that, in 1790, Michaelis, in his *Anmerkungen*, still treats the Sermon

^a Eichhorn, *Einleitung in's. N. T.* 1804. I. s. 439.

as a connected whole, the opinions of Pott were assailed first by Storr, in his *Observationes in Librorum N. T. historicorum loca quædam* (Opuscula III.); again by Schuster in Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek* Bd. ix. 974; Hess in his *Leben Jesu*; Knapp in his *Scripta*, p. 377. 2. Ausg.;^a and more especially by Paulus, and those who wrote separate commentaries upon the Sermon on the Mount. We may name Jehnichen, Rau, Grosse, Jentzen, all of whom sought to trace out a plan and connection, although, in this respect, they were far from coming up to such of their more ancient predecessors in the field as Chrysostom and Bengel.

Eichhorn's splendid hypothesis of a primitive gospel, has disappeared without a trace. In treating the Evangelical narratives, criticism has now taken another direction, one, however, which is still less favourable to the supposition of the originality of our Sermon. The authenticity of the Gospel has been assailed upon internal grounds; the principal of which is the evident want of *intuitiveness* in the author's delineation, and his not assigning, properly, the historical occasions of what is spoken. A decided preference has been conceded to Mark, but more especially to Luke. Proceeding on this comparative estimate of Matthew and Luke in general, some are disposed at once to consult the latter for the

^a Here the late Knapp speaks as follows:—At singulis in partibus sententiisque hujus concionis, nihil inesse curiosius investiganti videbitur, quod non sit apte, distincte ordinateque dispensatum. He expressed himself to the same purpose, in his review of Rau's work, *Hall. Litt. Zeit.* 1806. No. 202.

original place of all sayings common to both Evangelists. The view of Pott and Künoel, that the discourse is a totally incoherent collection of sentences, is here relinquished; they rather attempt, by virtue of the superior severity of modern Exegesis, to demonstrate a connection, which, however, it is supposed, did not belong to the discourse in its primitive state, but was the work of the reporter, the author of the first Gospel, who linked the parts together. Such was the opinion of Eichhorn,^a and such also is that of the latest Exegetical writers, who allow Matthew to be the author; we name Dr. Fritzsche, Olshausen, and Meyer. Accordingly, what we are to consider, as the received opinion of more modern times, both among the opponents and defenders of the genuineness of Matthew, is, that our sermon exhibits, indeed, a tolerably well arranged whole, but, in all those parts which Luke introduces in a different connection, must be regarded as an extension of the original discourse of Christ given by him.

In contesting, therefore, the modern view of the Sermon on the Mount, it is not incumbent upon us, as it would be in opposing Pott and Künoel, to shew that it is properly connected together. This has, with great ability, and in precisely the same way which we ourselves shall hereafter adopt, been done by one of the opponents of the original unity. The arguments by which they endeavour to establish that view, are the two following: 1st, The general character of Matthew's work, and particularly

^a Allg. Biblioth. Th. iii. s. 249.

his practice of compounding into one whole, speeches of Christ which were delivered at different dates, as in chapters x. xiii. and xxiii. warrant the conclusion, that such may likewise be the case in the Sermon on the Mount:^a 2d, The parallel passages which are scattered here and there through the whole gospel of Luke, shew undeniably that in point of fact this is the case, inasmuch as they are brought forward by that Evangelist in a better connection. The validity, or invalidity of the first argument, can only be shewn by taking up one of the Discourses by itself, and investigating the truth of the assertion in the particular case. With the exception of Siefert, the opponents appeal chiefly to the Sermon on the Mount; so that, upon the result which we obtain with respect to it, will partly depend what weight we are to assign to the general opinion. The second argument is that with which we have here, in the first

^a Professor Pelt, who in the Prolegomena to his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Thessal. p. xxxi. declares himself in the note for the genuineness of Matthew, proceeds to observe, that whoever holds this opinion ought to be cautious of maintaining that diverse sayings are there amalgamated: *Observatio per se vera, caute tamen adhibenda nec nimis quidem late extendenda. Quod, ut hoc afferam, de oratione montana a recentioribus rursum jam concedi solet.* In fact, those who contend that in Matthew's discourses various declarations are comprised in one speech, are inconsistent, when they still hold fast the genuineness of the Evangelist, for they are then met, as was justly done by Dr. Shulz (*Vom Abendmahl*, s. 315), with the remark, that the Evangelist delivers his narrative exactly as if the discourses had formed one whole, and says nothing to intimate that he brings together heterogeneous materials.

instance, to do ; and the question is, Can it be said with truth that the greater number of the parallels given by Luke appear in his gospel in a better connection ? It is usual to commence the proof of the affirmative of this question with the Lord's prayer, which certainly is brought forward in Luke xi. with a distinct assignment of the occasion, whereas, in Matthew, it is only casually introduced by the preceding mention of "vain repetitions." On this point we must refer the reader to the exposition we have given of the Lord's prayer. The remaining parallels in Luke are as follows : xiv. 34, xi. 33, viii. 16, xvi. 13, xiii. 24, 25, xii. 58, 59, xi. 34, 35, xvi. 16—18, xi. 9, xii. 22—34.

Now, with respect to the four first passages, it must, beyond all question, be admitted, that the declaration appended by Luke xiv. 34, is entwined in the closest manner into the discourse of Matthew, while in the former some connection may indeed be traced, but certainly a much more slender one. (Mark, in like manner, introduces the saying, c. ix. 50, in a much less satisfactory connection.) The same remark may be applied to Luke xi. 33, in comparison with Mat. v. 15, in which latter passage the connection is of the most intimate and beautiful kind. The same dictum likewise appears once more, and differently connected, at Luke viii. 16. (Mark iv. 21.) Just as little does Luke xvi. 13 stand connected with the preceding context by any closer tie than does Matt. vi. 24. We must also add, that all critics, even Schleiermacher and Olshausen, in regard to aphorisms like these, consider a repetition as very conceivable, an idea which, in

the sequel, we shall further extend. If we turn to Luke xiii. 24, 25, we cannot comprehend how any one should have thought of identifying v. 25 with Matt. vii. 22, seeing that in the former the saying occurs in connection with a peculiar parable, and may much rather be compared with the kindred expressions in Matt. xxv. 10—12, a parallel which likewise shows, that Christ, on several occasions, used similar expressions. With respect to the 24th verse in Luke, it is true that it stands there in the finest connection, but Olshausen himself has confessed that the same words in Matt. vii. 13 have also a fine connection. We shall afterwards find that this saying introduces in a highly apposite manner the concluding words of the sermon on the Mount. As to the three other texts, Luke xi. 34, 35, xii. 58, 59, and xvi. 16—18, they belong to the most difficult cruces interpretum, *i. e.* of such interpreters as would wish to bring them into any kind of connection with the preceding context. I admire, doubtless, the ingenuity with which Olshausen has handled Luke xvi. 16—18, but surely few will deny that he has introduced into the passage, what neither Christ nor Luke ever thought of. We have thus quoted the most of the parallel passages in Luke, of which it holds, as a general result, that so far from standing in a better connection in that Evangelist, the greater part, in the connection in which he produces them, are inexplicable. There now only remain two sayings, of which a different opinion might be entertained, the one Luke xi. 9, compared with Mat. vii. 7—10, the other, the larger section, Luke xii. 22—34, compared with Mat. vi. 21—34.

A parallel with any text from the first half of the seventh chapter must, considering the connection, find us very willing to admit of interpolations in Matthew, for it is just in the first half of the 7th chapter that the thread of connection seems to dwindle away. It is a striking fact, however, that precisely at this place, the sermon in Luke agrees with that of Matthew, so that we are compelled to admit the originality of this section of it, although we are here least able satisfactorily to trace the sequence of ideas; two passages only are to be found elsewhere in a different connection; viz. ver. 2, at Mark iv. 24; but there it has also a turn of thought so different, that, considering the perfect appropriateness of its position in Matthew, we cannot but suppose the same sentiment to have been, on two several occasions, diversely applied. Moreover, the admonition, v. 7—10, is found in Luke in another connection, xi. 9. Is that, however, a better one? It is true, that in the latter instance it comes better after what was previously said in the parable, with regard to persevering prayer; but still by no means better than does v. 24 after v. 23 in Matt. vi., where, however, such loud complaints are made of the want of connection. To all which, we have still to add, that in this section of Luke connection, in general, is wanting, inasmuch as, according to the acknowledgment even of Schleiermacher, both the formula *καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς* in v. 5, and also the *καὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν λέγω* in v. 9, indicate the detached nature of what is said. Accordingly, even this saying, in the opinion of the assailants of Luke, belongs to the number of those which he does not introduce in a

superior connection ; and, in the end, there remains none of all the parallels which have been quoted, except xii. 22—34. Now, with respect to this passage, it must be conceded that all is linked together in beautiful order. The exhortation, To take no thought, with the parable, about the laying up of treasure ; and again, the exhortation subsequently given, v. 35, To stand in continual expectation of the Lord, with the preceding one, To provide in the heavens an incorruptible treasure. That the twelfth chapter, however, presents us with a connection so thoroughly satisfactory, as Schleiermacher believes, we cannot admit. In the first place, we find the admonitions to the disciples boldly to preach the gospel, and not to be afraid, the same which Matthew communicates in his tenth chapter, in the mission-address to the apostles. Now, although it be true that suspicions have been equally cast upon that address, as delivered by this Evangelist, and partly on doctrinal grounds, *e. g.* at vers. 2 and 3, still it must be admitted, that the occasion of the words in Luke appears far less sufficient than in Matthew. Again, what will be said, Luke xii. 10, of the declaration about the sin against the Holy Ghost, a declaration which, it is true, Schleiermacher is likewise disposed to take under his protection, but still only with a divided heart, so that it is easy to see if the acute critic had found it in Matthew, he would have acknowledged it to be “ ill put in.” The same observation holds of v. 32, in which he discovers the echo of our Saviour’s former frame of mind ; whereas, had he met the passage in Matthew in so unconnected a state, he would assuredly have pro-

nounced that the Apostle had been *mistaken*. Of vers. 58 and 59, and of their unconnected position in this chapter, we have already spoken. Many other such remarks would a man possessed of Schleiermacher's ingenuity, after having once taken part against this section of Luke, be able to bring forward. We confine ourselves, however, to a single observation relative to the passage as it occurs in Matthew. In Luke there are to be found several slight differences, in v. 24, where the ravens are named instead of the *πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, in v. 26, where an illustrative clause to v. 25 is given, in v. 31, where the *πρῶτον* fails, and in v. 33, where the image is somewhat altered. From such diversities we avoid drawing any inference, as it would admit a disputation in *utramque partem*, and lay stress on the single point, that in Luke, as will be conceded, v. 34, occurs in a connection which renders it much more unmeaning than in Matt. vi. 21. In this chapter of Matthew, v. 22—24, is connected with the preceding context, solely by the intermediation of v. 21. Remove v. 21 from its position, and all connection ceases. Let it remain, however, and v. 21—24 ranks with the profoundest sayings of the sermon on the Mount. Must we, then, either say that Matthew, or the unknown author, whom the assailants of the authenticity of the gospel put in his stead, when in the fortuitous jumble of the sayings handed down by tradition, he placed this dictum in the situation which it occupies, merely made a lucky throw, or shall we give that unknown author credit for genius sufficient to have constructed, out of detached sentences, by the exer-

cise of his own acute power of combination, a train of thought so subtle and profound? No impartial critic will subscribe to either opinion. When Olshausen, whose principles of criticism incline him to regard whatever any one Evangelist inserts more than the others, in his report of our Saviour's discourses, as the property of that reporter, and the result of a practice they all had, of weaving interpolations of their own with their Master's words, and who considers the sermon in Luke as the primitive sermon on the Mount, nevertheless does not place the five beatitudes which Matthew has over and above Luke, to the account of the former Evangelist, and assigns as a reason, that otherwise the concatenation of ideas would neither be so profound nor natural, so in the present instance, must we, upon the same principle, consider the connection in which Matthew gives us the words of Christ as the original. And, in fact, it will be another reason for our doing so, that we do not so much as find in Luke all that in our text appears in Matthew. For example, the very saying to which, in Matthew, the 21st verse is linked, and with which it is so intimately related, is given by Luke xii. 33, utterly loose and unconnected; and, moreover, the concluding words of the section, Matt. v. 34, are in him totally wanting. Now, if besides all this, the fact, of which we shall presently say more, be certain, that Luke is worse acquainted with the sermon on the Mount than Matthew, we find ourselves at last irresistibly driven to the conclusion, that likewise the section of Matthew under review stands there both in its original form and place.

What we have hitherto remarked in refutation of

the critics, who take the part of Luke, gains in force, and appears in its true light, when we take into consideration the three following points.

We, in the first place, propose the question : *Granting that there really is in the Sermon on the Mount, so fine a plan and connection as Olshausen, for instance, points out, is the presumption critically probable that any collector, or the Evangelist himself, constructed it out of loose and scattered sayings ?* If we reflect upon the otherwise unvarnished simplicity of the evangelical historians, which has sometimes even the appearance of harshness, and more especially upon the numerous passages, in which sayings really akin, are carelessly brought together without any visible bond of union, as is actually the case with the isolated sentences of the sermon on the Mount scattered throughout Luke, that presumption, we should think, must appear totally unnatural.

With what right,—this is our second question,—*has the criticism of the Gospels in more modern times so very obstinately refused to concede that in single maxims, or even in his shorter discourses, Christ may have repeated his own words ?* It is true that the harmonists of the Osiander school have fallen into an extreme, when, with the view of forcing out a strict chronological order in each of the Evangelists, they everywhere double and triple, not only what is spoken, but even the events in their narratives. Modern criticism, however, goes to an extreme on the other side, and seems to think Christ could not have proceeded in any other way than according to the motto of the Rhetoricians, τὰ κοινὰ κοινῶς. Olshausen

allows that many a proverbial expression might have been used on different occasions, but while he admits the possibility of this, he denies its having actually taken place. The opponents of the authenticity of Matthew go so far, as, whenever he mentions two individuals, and the others only one, to place the second entirely to his account ;^a nay, even when one

^a When Dr. Schulz brings forward, as a characteristic feature of Matthew, that he is fond of doubling and then combining facts, that, out of one blind man, he makes two, two out of one demoniac, and two also out of one ass at the entrance into Jerusalem, his mind seems to have been dwelling on the tendency of tradition to magnify. But the remark is not at all applicable in the present instance. For if the miracles of Christ were to be exaggerated, this could have been done in a more effectual way than by converting one blind man into two. Neither is the example of the two asses in point ; for, as Schulz himself says, it was not tradition, with its love of amplification, which was here the cause of the duplication, but a passage from the Old Testament. The attempt to account for the fact, that in certain cases of curing the sick, Matthew speaks of two, instead of one patient, by appealing to the magnifying power of tradition, is utterly abortive, as much so indeed as that of Michaelis and Marsh, to explain it, by supposing an error of the translator, who mistook, as they allege, for the Dual the *Stat. Emph.* of the Aramaic original. On the other hand, while we admit the truth of the observation, that tradition is prone to magnify, we resist its application to our gospel, although it is what Schulz, and also, with some scruple, Sieffert apply to the twofold account given us by Matthew of Christ's feeding the multitude. The story, for example, which is told in the history of the Crusades, of the mighty blow of King Conrad, who at one stroke hewed off the head and shoulders of a Turk, might have been transferred to this monarch from Godfrey of Bouillon's brave achievement at the bridge of Antioch. (See Raumer's Hohenstaufen,

and the same fact or saying, is brought forward several times by this Evangelist himself, it must still, they contend, have been once doubled by tradition. On the question, as it relates to facts, we cannot here enter ; it would lead us into too wide a field ; we confine ourselves exclusively to the sayings. Now, beyond all doubt, it is going too far to affirm, that our Saviour, on several different occasions, did not express himself in the same or similar terms. If to suppose his having done so, when we consider the matter simply *per se*, be to suppose what is not improper for any teacher, it is far less so in the following cases : 1st, When the scholars want capacity and power of comprehension. 2dly, When the audience frequently changes, as, for example, in the instance before us, the discourse is delivered at one time in Galilee, and at another in

II. 551,) although I do not even hold that to be probable. But let it just be considered, whether the character of our gospels would not sink below that of all other history, and become a mere web of legends, the moment the double narrative of the feeding of the multitude, *of which Christ himself makes mention in his discourses*, Matt. xvi. 9, 10 ; Mark viii. 19, 20, comes to be regarded as a fiction of tradition, and, of course, *the speech of Christ, which relates to it, as fabricated !* When Professor Sieffert, at page 67 of his work, says : “ We here, throughout, speak only of such mistakes and erroneous statements, as are widely removed from all religious interest,” that is what we cannot at all understand. We may add, that here, and, in general wherever Dr. Schulz is quoted, Klener’s prize essay : *Recensiores de authentia Matthæi questiones, &c.* Gott. 1832, p. 68, may be compared, inasmuch as the young industrious author has, alas ! too slavishly adhered to his views.

Judea, now in presence of the Pharisees, and now before the people. 3dly, When what is spoken consists of sententious sayings. All these circumstances met in the case of Christ, and I shall only further make one observation upon the third point.

The Hebrew term מִשְׁלֵי signifies a *figurative expression* or *proverb*, and, in like manner, both of these meanings are comprised in παροιμία, which is used by John. It signifies a *parable*, or, in general, any *brief aphorism* or *proverb*. Now it is the nature of a proverb to be often used. Steuchus calls axioms a perennial philosophy, because, on every fresh occasion, they spring up and evince their truth. When we are informed by the Rabbi Meir,^a that of all his discourses, a third part was composed of מִשְׁלֵי, how is it possible to suppose but that he frequently repeated them? Even the sayings of the Old Testament assumed, in the eyes of the Jews, this axiomatic character, and hence it is, that we find them so frequently in their mouth, and even quoted with a ἵνα πληρωθῆι, the pious Hebrew believing that the Old Testament contained that perennial philosophy which, in experience, ever verifies itself anew. Let any one, for instance, compare in what a variety of connections the declaration, Is. vi. 9, 10, occurs, as in Matt. xiii. 14, John xii. 40, Acts xxviii. 6, and Rom. xi. 8. Now it is incontestable, that the same kind of standing sentiments are found again and again reiterated in the discourses of Christ throughout the three first gospels. We advert, in the first place, to

^a Talm. Tr. Sota, 9. c. 15.

that oft recurring: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." Matt. xi. 15; xiii. 9. "The first shall be last, and the last first." Matt. xix. 30; xx. 16. "Many are called but few chosen." Matt. xx. 16; xxii. 14. "Except ye become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." Matt. xviii. 3; xix. 14. "He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me is not worthy of me." Matt. x. 38; xvi. 24. "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off." Matt. v. 30; xviii. 9. "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit," &c. Matt. vii. 18; xii. 33. "The Son of Man is come to save that which was lost." Matt. xviii. 11; ix. 13, comp. Luke xix. 10.^a "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed," &c. Matt. xvii. 20; xxi. 21. It is, however, just upon this last text that Schulz founds the objection against Matthew, of his being prone to make two things out of one; we must, therefore, show, that such duplications are equally to be met with in Luke, nay, that sentences of the kind were so prominent in the discourse of Jesus, that *even John could not avoid introducing them*. "If any man will come after me let him deny himself." Luke ix. 23; xiv. 27. "No man, when he hath lighted a candle, covereth it with a vessel." Luke viii. 16; xi. 33. "Nothing is secret that shall not be made manifest." Luke viii. 17; xii. 2. "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of Man also confess before the

^a To these repetitions of the self same sayings, with little or no modification, belongs also Mat. v. 31, xix. 7, although it be not precisely an axiom.

angels of God." Luke xii. 8 ; ix. 26. " Whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased," &c. Luke xiv. 11 ; xviii. 14. Nor are there wanting sentences which even John has in common with the first gospels. " He that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth me." John xiii. 20 ; Luke x. 16 ; Matt. x. 40. " He that findeth his life shall lose it," &c. Mat. x. 39. Luke xvii. 33 ; John xii. 25. " The servant is not greater than his Lord," occurs in this Evangelist twice, and the second time in a very remarkable way, for Christ calls to mind his having once before uttered it, so that we have here the clearest proof of his having frequently reiterated his sayings, John xiii. 16 ; xv. 20 ; Mat. x. 24 ; Luke vi. 40. Finally, we have to mention the remarkable declaration, Mat. xi. 27, which Christ partially repeats, xxviii. 18, and to which various allusions are to be found in John iii. 35 ; vi. 46 ; vii. 29, &c. *Yes, even in the diction of John, which is of so diverse a character from that of the rest, sayings precisely similar are repeated, and some of them even with a reminiscence of having been already used ;* John vii. 34 ; viii. 21 ; xiii. 33 ; x. 26 ; iii. 14 ; viii. 28 ; xii. 32 ; v. 36 ; x. 25 ; the expression, *she sleepeth*, which Christ uses in the case of Jairus' daughter, Mat. ix. 24, he again applies to Lazarus, John ix. 11. Upon a comparison of all these passages, and many more might have been here collected, it must be evident to every unprejudiced mind : 1st, How totally destitute of foundation is the assertion of Dr. Schulz and others, that the duplication of Christ's sayings is in any way peculiar to Matthew ; and,

2dly, How erroneous is the method of criticism now current, which judges of our Saviour's sayings according to the rule of the rhetoricians, τὰ κοινὰ καινῶς instead of, according to the oriental and popular maxim, τὰ ἀντὰ πρὸς τῶν ἀντῶν, and in this way refuses to hear of their having been repeated, or at least sets that down as a thing merely possible, but which did not actually take place.

The 3d point which we have still to enforce, respects the general character of the Sermon on the Mount, as given by Luke, when compared with that of Matthew. For, if it were possible to shew, that, judging by the coherence of the discourse in his report, the former was better informed with respect to it than the latter Evangelist, then, certainly, we would necessarily be disposed to allow that the sayings which he has reported in another position, did not, in truth, originally form any component part of the Sermon on the Mount; and the assertion of the spuriousness of Matthew's Gospel would hereby obtain new confirmation. Should it, however, on the other hand, appear that, in general, the form of the sermon in Luke, creates the feeling that there is a want of a faithful report, while, on the contrary, that of Matthew is more perfect, an additional weight is thrown into the scale in favour of Matthew's authenticity; and, what is of no small consequence, we learn the necessity of bringing to the isolated parallels in Luke, the presupposition which their fragmentary character corroborates, that they do not stand in their original place. Now, the preference in point of originality, we can with the less reserve accord to Matthew's

version of the Sermon on the Mount, inasmuch as the advocates of Luke, in these days, have already more or less conceded it. True, that Schulz, and likewise Olshausen, are for finding in the third Evangelist our Lord's discourse in its primitive shape; ^a the former of these scholars, however, has not, it is clear, investigated the subject in detail; and although the talents and ingenuity of the second enable him every where to knit the detached threads skilfully together, he still does so, in a way which rather surprises than satisfies. The fragmentary character of the piece in Luke, is, in the first place, indicated by the Evangelist himself, at the 27th verse, where the words ἀλλ' ὑμῶν λέγω τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, as even Olshausen admits, mark a gap, and at the 39th, where the εἶπε δὲ παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς, shews indubitably that the Evangelist had certain parabolical *dicta* in his mind, but that he did not well know what was their proper place. We need not suppose that the *dicta* contained in vers. 39, 40, did not originally belong to the Sermon on the Mount; the 39th rather seems to indicate, that what forms the subject of the admonition, Mat. vii. 15, was meant to be expressed; but whereas, in the latter Evangelist, this admonition falls in with entire propriety, the texts of Luke which we have cited stand out of all connection, and that which properly belongs to the subject of them, and which Matthew places in natural and immediate union,

^a Olshausen: "Matthew appended kindred matter; Luke has preserved the substance of the discourse which Christ delivered on the occasion.

at vii. 16, is first brought forward by Luke, at v. 43, and there in a state of disjunction, after he has inserted in the interval, without any coherence, what Matthew, c. vii. 3, delivers in appropriate connection with vers. 1st and 2d of that chapter. The imperfection of the report in Luke is also evinced by v. 46, and the beatitudes, v. 20. We have already mentioned that, with regard to the beatitudes, Olshausen feels himself compelled to allow the superiority of the report of Matthew, and hence, in this respect, to consider it as the more original. Schleiermacher expresses himself very strongly upon the fragmentary character of the piece in Luke, saying, ^a “Our reporter appears to have had a less favourable position for hearing, and hence not to have caught all that was said, and here and there to have lost the thread of discourse; he may also have been longer of noting it down, when much had already escaped him.” In like manner de Wette^b says, “We find in Luke traces of his having merely quoted from memory, and with little fidelity, what is found in its original form in Matthew,” which assertion he afterwards makes quotations from the Sermon to confirm. The latest opponent of the authenticity of Matthew also finds himself forced to the following conclusion: “That as to several of Luke’s parallels with the Sermon on the Mount, we must needs remain dubious to which of the two Evangelists they originally belonged; and that the Sermon on the Mount is not

^a Ueber die Schriften des Lukas, s. 89.

^b Einleitung in das N. T. s. 162.

altogether one of those which most openly manifest their compilatory character."^a Now, these admissions conduce not a little to corroborate what we formerly remarked upon the relation between the parallels in Luke, and the report in Matthew, and constitute, as we said, no slender contribution to the evidences for the authenticity of the first gospel. For, supposing that really to be, what it must needs appear to any one who reads and acquiesces in the work of Sieffert, so confused and adulterated, and in original delineation, so contemptible a gospel, how comes it to pass that the unknown author from whom it proceeds, who is in every particular worse informed than Luke, and who elsewhere is incapable of stating a single fact, either in its proper place, or without perplexity, has yet communicated a discourse of such considerable length, with so much greater fidelity, order, and propriety, and delivered the detached sentences, scattered up and down in the gospels of Luke and Mark, in a connection so ingenious and so accordant with the Spirit of Christ?

From these investigations we have gained, with as much certainty as in such cases is attainable, the result, that the sermon, as it lies before us, is in all its parts original, at least that nothing decisive can be argued against the supposition of its originality. We do not indeed mean by that to maintain, that Matthew has preserved to us all that Christ delivered upon the occasion. For, just as the speeches of the Sa-

^a Sieffert *Über den Ursprung des ersten Kanonischen Evangeliums*, 1832, s. 80.

viour in John, take, for instance, the conference with Nicodemus, are, for the most part, to be viewed merely as extracts, so likewise in the present case. Upon this latter ground we will also take no offence, if here and there the connection comes less distinctly into view.^a

We now proceed to indicate the train of ideas in the discourse, in doing which, we must, on the one hand, keep in view the observation we have just made, and, on the other, remember that the order in a discourse of Christ's ought not to be confounded with the logical disposition of a sermon. It is not according to the rules which determine that, that Christ delivers his discourses; the only logic he observes is that of the heart. It would be vain to seek any strict co- or sub-ordination; and we must be satisfied if we can only trace the thread that guides from one idea to another. The same is the case in the long continuous discourses given by John, and in the prayer, John xvii. Among the plans of disposition which others have proposed, we, for the sake of brevity, pass over those of Schuster, Paulus, Hase,^b Kaiser,^c and shall only advert to those which have been given by Grosse and Jentzen. According to the

^a On this subject, see Ferf, Specimen Critico-Theol. in Ev. Matth. Trag. Bat. 1799, p. 196, sq.

^b Leben-Jesu, s. 83.

^c Grundriss der Neutestament: Hermeneutik, s. 170. Geistl, Rhetorik, s. 209. Kaiser, with complete originality, supposes that the Lord's prayer forms the central point of the Sermon, and that in it the same *schema* returns which lies at the foundation of the whole discourse. That there is a very intimate re-

former,^a the theme lies in chap. v. 48: "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect;" chap. v. 17—47, declares in what perfection consists; chap. vi. 1—8, by what endeavours in good works man attains perfection; vi. 19.—vii. 12, by what endeavours, in the general conduct of life, he attains perfection; vii. 13—27 forms the conclusion. The very obvious fault of this division in separating good works from the general conduct of life, has been censured by Jentzen^b who states the contents as follows: The fundamental theme is, *Μετανοεῖτε· ἡγγικε γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*. v. 1—16, Delineation of the nature of the kingdom of Christ; v. 17—48, Censure of the false exposition of the law by the Pharisees; vi. 1—18, Piety does not consist in mere external worship; vi. 19.—vii. 12, Rebuke of sundry other vices prevalent at the time among the Jews; vii. 13—27, The conclusion. In our view of the connection, we agree with Olshausen, this difference alone excepted, that whatever in the train of thought he places to the credit of the Evangelist, we derive from Christ himself:

1st, Character of the disciples of the new kingdom of God, their fate and position in the world. v. 1—16.

2d, Relation of the new to the old covenant. The

lation of the whole discourse to the Lord's prayer, as its heart—and that the Sermon on the Mount is, as it were, the antitype of the promulgation of the law on Sinai, is also supposed by Stier. (*Andeutungen*, u. s. w. I. 104.)

^a *De Concilio quod Christus*, etc. Gott. 1818.

^b *De Indole ac ratione Orationis Montanæ*. Lubecæ, 1819.

law expounded according to the Spirit, in contrast with the pharisaical mode of interpreting it according to the letter; showing also what it is to fulfil the law of God in all its extent and strictness. v. 17—48.

3d, The one sole motive of truly right action, i. e. *a regard to God*, exemplified in the three species of what, in pharisaical piety, are, by way of eminence, denominated good works, viz. alms-giving, fasting, and prayer. vi. 1—18.

4th, Warning against serving God with a heart divided betwixt earthly and heavenly things; That which is divine must predominate. vi. 19—34.

5th, Detached exhortations to self-examination, wise behaviour towards one's neighbour, and prayer, with an inference in the 12th verse, comprising in a single rule our whole duty to our brethren. vii. 1—12.

6th, Admonition to be strenuous in the way of salvation, and warning against hypocrisy: exhortation to evince by deeds what we have heard and believed. vii. 13—27.

The connection is particularly demonstrable in the *introitus*, and in the *peroratio*, where we are able, for the most part, without any violence, to trace from clause to clause the progress of the thought.

What led our Saviour to choose these for the topics of his discourse, is a subject upon which we shall afterwards touch in the introduction to the fifth chapter.

SECTION THIRD.

THE PERSONS TO WHOM THE DISCOURSE WAS
ADDRESSED.

THE question here arises, whether the discourse was addressed solely to the narrower circle of the Apostles, or to the whole multitude of people that crowded around the Saviour. The accounts of the Evangelists leave no doubt upon the subject. Because, when Matthew says, προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ and Luke ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ, ἔλεγε, these expressions by no means prove that he spoke only to the larger circle of the μαθηταί, that ὄχλος μαθητῶν, Luke vi. 17, from which the πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ is there distinguished; for at the end of the sermon, Matthew tells us, vii. 28, how powerfully the ὄχλοι were impressed with his doctrine, and Luke, who is wont, not unfrequently, to substitute λαός for ὄχλοι, says c. vii. 1, that all his sayings were εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ λαοῦ. That the discourse was chiefly directed to the ὄχλοι, we also, however, cannot affirm, inasmuch as Luke distinguishes the μαθηταί from the λαός, and we are told that Jesus “lifted up his eyes on his disciples.” Besides which, the text, at least according to Luke, seems of itself to favour the supposition that the Apostles were principally addressed. Thus, before the sermon, Luke relates the election of the Apostles, and does not, until after this transaction, make Christ descend from

the top of the mountain to the *level place*, and there speak. There are also sentiments in the discourse which certainly could not be addressed to the mixed bands of people, who, for the most part, had only congregated for the purpose of having their sick healed; nay, which could scarcely be intended even for all the *μαθηταί*. For instance, c. v. 13, 14, vii. 6. Under these circumstances, we are compelled to seek out some middle view, which may reconcile the two opinions. Such a view readily presents itself, when we reflect upon the matter, *per se*, and, moreover, results from a consideration of the circumstances attendant upon the choosing of the Apostles, mentioned by Luke as having preceded the sermon.

The fact that that Evangelist places the election of the Apostles before the sermon, is such, as we already hinted, Sec. I., that if we hold the identity of the piece in Matthew, with that in Luke, the authenticity of the former becomes extremely doubtful, while, if we maintain its authenticity, we are obliged to explain the discourse in the latter along with the election of the Apostles, as a subsequent occurrence. The state of the case is this: While both Luke and Mark relate to us the vocation of Levi (of whom we presuppose that he is the same person with Matthew,) to the discipleship, as taking place anterior to the sermon on the Mount, Matthew himself gives no account of it before the ninth chapter, *i. e.* on the lowest estimate, according to Bengel's Harmony, several days later. Now, if it must be supposed that Matthew, in like manner, conceived the election of the Apostles as prior to the sermon on the Mount, although

he takes no notice of it either here or anywhere else, how shall we explain the fact, that we find him a few days after his vocation again sitting at the receipt of custom, and that Christ, without the least allusion to any earlier acquaintance, then, as if for the first time, calls upon him permanently to espouse his cause? If, again, we desire to evade this difficulty, and draw from the silence of Matthew with respect to the election of the Apostles, the conclusion that it did not in point of fact take place before the sermon on the Mount, which he reports, then we are compelled to regard the discourse in Luke, as different and posterior in point of time, which, however, for the reasons given, Sec. I., we cannot do. The incompatibility of the posterior date of the vocation of Matthew, in the first Gospel, with the prior date of the election of the Apostles, is one chief ground upon which Sieffert rests the attack which he makes upon the authenticity of that Gospel. He says, p. 64, "Such never would have been the account of the Apostle himself. Much more is it evident from this, that the narrator was ignorant of the time when the calling of the Apostles took place. Otherwise, he could not possibly have fallen into the mistake not only of confounding, or rather transferring into his book what tradition had already confounded, the vocation of Levi the publican, the son of Alpheus, with the vocation of Matthew, but even of entering this transaction in the place it occupies after the sermon on the Mount, where, upon a comparison of the accounts given by Mark and Luke, of the choosing of the twelve Apostles, it has a very suspicious appearance." Again, p. 66, "Af-

ter this elucidation of the only narrative, from which one might have anticipated that the personality of the author, if that author had been Matthew, would in some way have been observable, but which, on the contrary, is almost sufficient by itself to demonstrate that the Gospel, at least in its present shape, was not the production of the said Apostle, we now look around to other parts of it, in order to see whether there also similar traces may not perhaps occur, proving the book to have arisen from the communications of others, and not from the personal observation of the writer."

In reply to these doubts, we remark, in the first place, that we see no reason why, even if the common supposition of a formal election of the Apostles anterior to the sermon on the Mount, be maintained, the matter may not be conceived in the way which Bengel, in his *Harmony*, and many of a more ancient date, have represented, and which we shall forthwith somewhat more at large detail. From the circumstances in connection with which, Matthew c. ix. relates his vocation, we must suppose that his tax-office was situate at one of the ferries of the Jordan, or upon the shore of the sea of Galilee; for Christ finds him in the neighbourhood of Capernaum. Now, if Matthew really dwelt in this quarter, he must have had frequent opportunities of seeing Christ, and might often have been a listener to his discourse. But the sermon on the Mount was also delivered in the vicinity of Capernaum; Jesus, it appears, was on his return thither, after an absence of unknown duration in another part of the country, and his arrival induced his

former adherents in the quarter to go forth and welcome him. Among the rest was Matthew, who must at the time have been acquainted with Christ, for otherwise he could not have been elected one of the Twelve at all. This election, we can easily suppose to have been a surprising and unexpected event to himself; and as he had merely mixed in the crowd of the *μαθηταί*, for the purpose of greeting the beloved Rabbi upon his return, he could not, of course, even although he had received the high call, agree at once to stay with Jesus, but required to return home in order to discharge the obligations connected with his business of tax-gatherer. Just as that disciple, who, upon being called to follow Christ, replied, "Suffer me first to go and bury my father," so also may Matthew have said to him, "Suffer me first to make the necessary arrangements for following you;" more especially considering that, immediately after the sermon, Jesus descended the mountain to Capernaum, and tarried in the vicinity; and thus when, a few days afterwards, he was again leaving the town, and found the publican, who had wound up his business in the interval, sitting at the receipt of custom, he then summoned him to espouse his cause. Upon this Matthew prepared a feast,—a farewell entertainment, as it would appear, for his friends—and joined himself to Jesus for good and all. Should it be urged, in objection to this view, that *Ἀκολούθει μοι* amounts to a proper apostolical election, we deny the truth of the statement, for the same call had been already given to Peter and Andrew and John and James, before the delivery of the sermon on the

Mount, and was by no means confined to the Twelve, (Matt. xix. 21.) It would be a better objection to say, that the narrative of Matthew is so framed, that we can nowhere mark the traces of an earlier acquaintance; but an earlier acquaintance must at any rate be supposed; for if Matthew had not previously even known Jesus, how could he at once have consented to follow him? In the case of Peter, that former acquaintance which John mentions, c. i. 42. preceded his calling (Luke v. 4.). We do not even need to refer the abruptness of Matthew's account to the peculiar simplicity of his style of narration. The account which John gives us, c. i. 40—45, of the collecting of the first disciples, is no less abrupt. In this manner, therefore, the difficulty, regarded by Sieffert as insurmountable, is easily removed, even when we adhere to the opinion usually held as to the election of the Apostles. Moved, however, by the language of Luke, I agree in part, although not entirely, with the view of that transaction which has been brought forward by Schleiermacher. When we read how this Evangelist, while he relates at large the healing of the sick, v. 17—19, compresses the description of the act of election into a single participle, ἐκλεξάμενος, how he mentions their being denominated Apostles, as having taken place at a former period, οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασε, how the whole stress of his words falls upon the *verbum finitum* ἔσται ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ, and how, moreover, the subsequent discourse contains nothing which adapts it exclusively for a consecration-sermon, we cannot well resolve to regard the election in question, as having been a very formal transaction, but are led to the following view, which harmonizes

with many other circumstances, and which I hold to be correct. I do not believe, with Schleiermacher, that the connection of the Twelve with their Master, formed itself, by accident and slow degrees, into a closer and more intimate one, but rather that Jesus, with a reference to the number of the tribes, had from the first resolved to select twelve regular disciples, (John xv. 16). It is my opinion, however, that the actual discrimination of the Twelve from the ὄχλος μαθητῶν, just before the sermon on the Mount, was rather casual than otherwise, occasioned by that sermon, and hence not a transaction gone about in a very formal manner. Jesus designed in this discourse to exhibit the ideal of a citizen of the kingdom of God; with such a subject he could not address himself to the mixed crowd of people, who, for the most part, had only gathered around him for the sake of the sick; even among the μαθηταί, there were doubtless many who had yet too little susceptibility for the doctrine. The Twelve, whom he meant some time after to send forth, were the most susceptible. And just as on other occasions, he speaks to his disciples, though still designing what he says to reach also the multitude (Luke xvi. 14; xii. 41,) the same is the case here. He now, for the first time, selects the Twelve from the larger number, places them nearest in a semicircle around him, and allows the other disciples, with the people, to take their station farther distant. If we suppose this to have been the course of the transaction, it agrees exactly with the language of Luke, where the choosing of the Apostles is related in the *participle*, and Christ's taking his position in the *verbum finitum*. Nor is there any contradiction

in Mark, who appears to inform us of a proper election of Apostles. The preference over both, however, is due to Matthew, when he passes this transaction, as of minor importance, in silence, and does not introduce his enumeration of the Apostles until the tenth chapter, on occasion of their being sent forth; for the apostolic call was more confirmed by their mission, than by their being separated from the rest upon the Mount. In that tenth chapter, as among the expositors of the sermon, Grotius justly observes, we first find the initiation discourse, which many supposed the sermon on the Mount to be.

Now, if at this point, we look back upon the question from which we set out, viz. How it comes to pass that Matthew does not relate his being called away from his tax-office, until some time subsequent to the sermon on the Mount, and his vocation to the apostleship, we shall be able, having no longer any peculiarly solemn transaction to think of, to account with greater ease for his returning, even after his election, to his business. While this inquiry, therefore, has enabled us, on the one hand, to vindicate the historical delineation of Matthew, it has likewise given us, on the other, such an answer to the question, whether the sermon on the Mount was addressed to the disciples or the people, as reconciles the two opinions. For we thus find, that it was addressed to all the disciples and adherents of the Saviour; inasmuch, however, as the church at that time consisted mainly of the Twelve, and only, in various inferior degrees, included the rest of the audience, it was to the Twelve that it was principally addressed, a circumstance which was probably in-

timated by the senses, the eye of the Saviour generally resting upon the narrow circle around him, and only now and then extending to those at a greater distance.

This view we likewise find in the expositors of antiquity, among whom Chrysostom, with equal point and accuracy, thus speaks: Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος δημῶδες ἦν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν χαμαι ἐρχομένων (al. ἐρπομένων), τῶν μαθητῶν τὸν χορὸν ὑποστησάμενος πρὸς ἐκείνους ποιεῖται τοὺς λόγους, ἐν τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαλέξει καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασι τοῖς σφόδρα ἀποδέουσι τῶν λεγομένων, ἀνεπαχθῆ γίνεται παρασκευάζων τῆς φιλοσοφίας τὴν διδασκαλίαν.^a Among the older exegetical writers there are some who labour expressly to shew the applicability of the precepts here given to all classes of Christians without exception. Thus the author of the *Opus Imperfectum*, in mentioning an exposition of *Mat. vi. 11*, according to which the text would apply solely to the Apostles, says in his 14th Homily: *Sed ita debemus aptare doctrinam Christi, ut omnes in ea proficient, ne forte communis medicina justitiæ, quæ ad salutem omnium est preparata, dum aut paucis aut nulli prodest, inveniatur esse superflua.*^b In the Ca-

^a For, as the crowd was of the common folk, and such as were still creeping upon the ground, he placed his disciples before him, and to them addressed his words; but, in addressing them, he prepares the doctrine of wisdom for becoming acceptable likewise to all the rest, who stood no less in want of his instruction.

^b This very author, however, as we have already hinted, adopts the opinion of Augustine, that the discourse in *Matthew* is different from that in *Luke*, and hence he says the former, delivered upon the mountain, and which is more spi-

tholic church, on the other hand, after the growth of the opinion, that our Saviour here delivers *concilia evangelica*, and not *præcepta*, it became the prevailing view that the discourse was designed exclusively for the Apostles. To the ὄχλος, says Maldonatus, he but preached the μετανοεῖτε. By the majority in the Protestant church, the words of the Introitus, at least, so far as the 17th verse, were referred specially to the Apostles. The Socinians alone contest this view, and assail the argument derived by many from the 12th verse, where it is alleged that the words, τοὺς προφήτας τοὺς πρὸ ὑμῶν, can only refer to such persons as stand in the same relation to the Christian, which the prophets did to the Jewish church. Protestants, however, have always been unanimous in maintaining that, for the most part, the discourse portrays generally the character of the citizen of God's kingdom. Calov is disposed to apply even the words in ver. 13, to all Christians, while Melancthon interprets them exclusively of the *munus doctoris*. So far as I know, Zachariæ^a was the first who broached the idea that the whole discourse was intended as the consecration sermon of the Apostles, an idea which Pott and K. Ch. L. Schmidt in the Exeg. Beiträgen, Th. ii. afterwards developed. It is chiefly Rau who has endeavoured to overthrow the exegetical arguments of Pott. On the other hand, by far the

ritual, (as a ready instance we have here πτωχοὶ τοῦ πνεύματι) was intended for the apostles, but the latter delivered upon the plain, and which is in a lower strain, for the people, and hence we have but οἱ πτωχοί.

^a Bibl. Theologie, 1775, Theil iv. s. 458.

greater number, both of supernaturalist and rationalist interpreters, unite in the view, that the discourse was addressed to the adherents of Christ in general, and contains a delineation of the characteristics of the true disciple of Jesus ; and, proceeding on this supposition, even Fleck has made use of it in his Book *De Regno Divino*, Lips. 1829, to shew what, according to the doctrine of Christ, ought to be the character of a citizen of the kingdom of God. Fleck declares himself to be of the same opinion with Schleiermacher, about the choosing of the Apostles.^a

SECTION FOURTH.

THE RELATION OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT TO THE GOSPEL SYSTEM, AND ITS DOCTRINAL SIGNIFICANCE IN GENERAL.

WHILE the English deists, like the Emperor Julian in ancient times, borrowed mainly from the sermon on the Mount the weapons they employed in attacking Christianity, that sermon has, by Socinians and the Rationalists of Germany, who, whether consciously or not, still occupy Kant's point of view, been considered as the finest relic of the *purior typus doctrinæ Christianæ*, and as serving to evince how greatly the genuine doctrine of the Master, even in soberness and practical utility, is distinguished from the mysticism of John and the Judaism of Paul. It is to the sermon on the Mount they appeal in order

^a *De Regno Divino*, p. 196.

to shew that, according to Christ's own expressions, neither that mystical fellowship with God and the Saviour, so much dwelt upon by the former, nor even Paul's doctrine of faith in the atonement, wrought out by Christ's obedience unto death, can possibly be the central point of Christianity. An inquiry into the relation in which this portion of the gospel stands to the entire Christian scheme of salvation, such as at the close of the last century Hess found occasion to institute, has hence, in these our times, become more peculiarly necessary.^a

Now, the first question we have to ask is, whence the Rationalist derives his confidence of being able to present us with what we may depend upon as truly the purior doctrinæ Christianæ typus? From what kind of critical views, with respect to the Gospels, does he set out in the attempt? The three first he considers as the offspring of an uncertain and wavering tradition, which occasionally added foreign matter to the words of the Saviour, omitted much that was essential, and modified the rest; and, with respect to John, that his authenticity is at least dubious. Such are the sentiments of the greater part of our rationalist divines; and, by holding them, they manifestly forego the only firm basis on which it is possible to raise a system of the original doctrine of Christ. Supposing, however, the apostolical origin of Matthew and John to be conceded, still, with the views generally entertained as to the historical character of the Evangelists, the uncertainty attend-

^a See Flatt's Magazin für Dogm. u. Mor. S. 5 & 6.

ing an attempt of the kind supposed, cannot be very greatly diminished even for those who make that concession. For, in the first place, as regards John, this disciple, they tell us, led by the mystical tendency of his mind, has transformed the simple and rational Jesus into quite another person from what he really was, and from what the first Gospels describe him to have been. Such is the opinion which a great number of our present theologians make no scruple to express. *But if whatever distinguishes the Christ of John from the Christ of synoptical divines, has been superadded by the fantastic disciple of love*, let those who hold this opinion also confess, which, to be consistent, they must do, that scarcely did ever historian treat his subject in a more romantic and arbitrary way. Nor is the assertion free from evil consequences in regard to the first Gospels; for in sundry passages of these, the Saviour speaks of himself and of his relation to believers in a like mystical manner as in John, Matt. xi. 25—27; xxviii. 18; x. 39; xviii. 20, &c. Now such passages must, on the same principle, be placed to the credit of Matthew, or of his anonymous informers, although it certainly seems difficult to explain, how the very marked peculiarity of John should have been impressed upon the words of Jesus, by individuals of a character so different as the authors of the three first narratives. It would be much more easy to suppose that, from the less intimate footing on which they stood, they have left out many a profound saying of the Saviour. The following, however, will appear the most credible conclusion: "If it be true that, led astray by the

mystical and fantastic bent of his mind, John has converted the rational Jesus into something totally different from what he really was, it is but natural to think that the other apostles, who were infected with far grosser Jewish prejudices, must have done the same. In fact, abstracting the few mysterious sayings from Matthew, which we have already quoted, there remain still as many of the same description, which cannot be made to suit the sober character of Jesus, and which clearly betray that, just as the fourth Evangelist endeavoured, by blending in his history the mystic notions he entertained of the Deity, to elevate his master above what he himself pretended to be, so did the authors of the three first accounts, by applying to him expressions from the common Jewish creed with which they were familiar. Such is the case when Christ informs us, in the precise terms in which the Jew was wont to describe his Messiah, That he will come again in the clouds of heaven, sitting upon the throne, and encircled by angels; and when he promises to his disciples that they should judge the tribes of Israel upon twelve thrones, and so on. That these and similar expressions have been palmed upon Christ, nay, that what he and others who figure in the history really said, has been inconceivably adulterated, may be conjectured from the single fact, that in no less than sixteen passages throughout the three Gospels, mention is made of a prediction of Christ with respect to his resurrection, and that is frequently coupled with the intimation, that he would rise in three days, whereas he certainly never said so, but only perhaps, that the doctrine he

had taught would begin properly to flourish after his death. It is a particularly striking fact, that Christ himself, after his resurrection, alludes to his having foretold it before his death, Luke xxiv. 40, and that even the Pharisees appealed before Pilate to the same prediction. "Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, after three days I will rise again," Matt. xxvii. 63. Now, if in all these passages, both tradition, which always deals so arbitrarily with what is entrusted to its keeping, and also the fancy of the first preachers of the gospel, have modified in so totally wilful a manner even the speeches of Christ, we have a just right to suppose, that those dicta probantia which might perhaps be brought from the first Gospels, to prove that Jesus gave himself out for a superhuman being, are in like manner to be ascribed to tradition, or to the fancy of the Judaizing apostles." So judges the rationalist,—but let him then, at least, allow that, renouncing all idea of discovering the primitive doctrine of Christ, he is compelled to acknowledge, that from narratives, such as he describes the gospels to be, it is impossible to say with certainty either what Christ was, or what he taught. *When all the deeds in a process have been vitiated, no judgment can be passed.*

And further, with respect to the objection, that in the portion of Scripture which is to be our theme, no allusion is made to the shibboleth of Paul's doctrine of the atonement, as in general the intimations given of it elsewhere, in the three first Gospels, are of a doubtful kind, let it be remembered, in the first place, that, on the one hand, that doctrine of the atonement has

its seat no less in the Epistles of Peter and John, than in those of Paul; and, on the other, that whatever intimations are given of it in the three first Gospels, as many, or even more, are contained in the fourth. We must take into account, however, what Christ declared with respect to those whom he sent forth as messengers. That his own end was near, he was aware; he told them that he should sow, but others should reap, John iv. 37, that his disciples should do greater works than he had done, John xiv. 12. He also declared, that he that received them would receive him; He that heard them, would hear him; and that where the defence of the truth required, the Father himself would speak through them; but that, for that end, a peculiar divine operation would take place upon them, for which they required to tarry before they were fit to go forth as instructors; that the Spirit which would then come to them, would lead them into the whole compass of truth, recalling with liveness to their memory what they had already heard, and communicating to them what they had not as yet been able to comprehend, (*βαστάζειν*), Matt. x. 40; Luke x. 16; Matt. x. 19; Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 8; John xvi. 12 and 13. Now, what is the import of these declarations? Unless, perhaps, with a wilfulness, elsewhere unexampled, we look upon them all as having been dressed up, and put into the mouth of our Saviour, they imply that during the brief period of his walk upon earth, he did not disclose to his disciples the whole truths of salvation. Nay, when he tells them that they "could not now bear" all the things he had to say

to them, we must suppose, that just the most important, that which it required the Spirit to explain, was kept back. Now, if such be the case, we can no longer be surprised, that his own discourses, and among the rest, the sermon on the Mount, give either no intimation at all, or only here and there, an occasional one, of what is contained at large in the apostolical writings. I willingly admit, that many a wherefore obtrudes itself, when we take this view of the matter; but we cannot too frequently recollect, that even the man who regards Jesus, only in his human aspect, and contends for no more than the providential character of his appearance upon earth, will no less find *wherefores* enough to which it will be hard for him to discover a satisfactory answer. How, for instance, can the Christian rationalist explain, why He whom God sent to save all the generations of the human race, tarried scarcely three years as an instructor among men, and never crossed the narrow confines of Judea?

Finally, when we hear the rationalism of Germany, pronounce this discourse of our Saviour, a master piece of practical morality, we are much more surprised than at Chubb, Morgan, Mandeville, and other English deists, quoting it as a proof how impracticable the Christian religion is in a world, which cannot dispense with soldiers, and lawyers, and dealers in luxury. For, it certainly is impossible to deny that the exalted morality of the sermon on the Mount is of so ideal a kind, that it never could become predominant in human life, as that is now constituted, without utterly annihilating many of its ma-

nifestations, and introducing a new order of things, which would seem extravagant in the eyes of one fettered to the interests of every day existence. Doubtless, however, the opinion we form with respect to what the discourse does, or does not contain, depends upon the manner in which it is expounded.

The doctrinal import of the sermon on the Mount, we determine by calling it a *Delineation of the moral law of Christianity in its general outlines*. After the Saviour has declared that he came to impart to the νόμος of the Old Testament its πλήρωσις, and to call forth a δικαιοσύνη superior to what the strictest attained under that dispensation, (v. 17, 20,) he proceeds to unfold the import of the law in all its depth, and thus shews of what nature, when considered in the lofty New Testament point of view, the δικαιοσύνη is.

Connected with this subject there is a doctrinal dispute, viz., Whether Christ can be called a *New Lawgiver*? Catholic divines have urged, that, in contrast with Moses, our Saviour here comes forward with the words ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν, that he adds to the Mosaic Law certain *consilia evangelica*, and finally, as is the practice of a law-giver, annexes at ver. 20th, and at the conclusion of the 7th chapter, a threatening against transgressors; so that the Council of Trent (Sessio 6, Canon 21,) ordains as follows: *Si quis dixerit Christum Iesum a Deo hominibus datum esse ut redemptorem, cui fidant, non etiam ut legislatorem cui obediant, anathema sit.*^a The So-

^a Thomas Aquinas imagines, that, under the gospel, there is still a law, only a different one from the old, and so do all the

cinians and Arminians have gone still farther. While the Catholics hold that Christ has delivered a more profound exposition of the commandments of the Old Testament, and added the *consilia evangelica*, the Socinians consider all that he sets up in contrast with these commandments, in the light, not of a *commentary* upon them, but of an *emendatory supplement*, and hence, as opposed not to the *misinterpretation* of the Pharisees, but to *the Mosaic law itself*,—in short, as of the nature of *command*, and not *counsel*. They also strongly insist, which may be best seen in Wolzogen and Vorstius, that the expression ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις must not, as is done by some Catholics and many Protestants, be taken as ablative, “Ye have heard that it was said *by* them of old time,” *i. e.* by the Rabbins, but ought to be taken as dative, “It was said *to* them of old time,” *i. e.* to the contemporaries of Moses. For this religious party, the precursors of modern rationalism, such a procedure was quite natural, because, restricting as they do, the whole of Christ’s saving work to his office of teacher, it was, of course, necessary to uphold in the Saviour the dignity of the moral law-giver. Precisely the same views with regard to the Sermon on the Mount are to be met with among Arminians, particularly in Limborch. The Lutheran and Reformed Churches, on the contrary, although with some exceptions, of

scholastic divines, in consequence of which the doctrine of the Law and the Gospel, down to the period of the Reformation, became in no small degree perplexed. Cramer, Forts. von Bossuet, vii. s. 624.

which we may notice Calixt, Pfaff, Baumgarten, vindicate the opinion, that Christ here does no more than unfold, in its utmost depth, the Old Testament law, contending not with Moses, but with the scribes; and they argue that he ought, therefore, not to be called a New Law-giver, inasmuch as he merely explains, confirms, and, as subservient to repentance,^a impresses upon the mind, a law already existing.

The question may be answered, both affirmatively and negatively: negatively, because it may certainly be said that the code of the Old Testament contains precepts, in which, as in its germ, the whole legislation of the New lies involved. We instance what is so often quoted by Christ: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, Mat. xxii. 37; and again: Ye shall be holy, for I am holy, Lev. xi. 44, 45, which is similar to Mat. v. 48. It may also be answered affirmatively, inasmuch as it is equally undeniable that even the teachers among the Jews, so far from penetrating fully into such precepts, understood them in a greatly inferior sense. Nay, there were several moral laws of the Old Covenant which stood in positive contradiction to the requirements of pure morality. For, does not our Saviour

^a The literature upon this subject, with a statement of the point at issue, will be found in an Excursus of Cotta, introduced in Gerhard's *Loci*, Tom. VI. p. 146. The Socinian view has been principally assailed, among Lutherans, by Calov, in *Socinianismus profligatus*, and by Scherzer, in the *Colleg. Antisocin.*, among the Reformed, by Maresius in his *Hydra Socinianismi*.

himself declare, in reference to the law of divorce, which permitted the putting away of the wife, *κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν*, that it did not accord with the original will of God, but was an abatement of the highest moral obligation indulgently granted to the *σκληροκαρδία* of the people? Accordingly, in so far as the Saviour unfolds the architypal morality of man, which was neither embodied in any special precepts of the Old Testament code, nor was yet, in point of fact, deduced from those parts of that code in which it was virtually involved, he certainly may be called a New Lawgiver. It was he who, by all that he was, as well as by his words, led mankind to the consciousness of their true archetype.

If then, the Sermon on the Mount be an inculcation of Christian law, it is of course an inculcation of *μετάνοια*, which the sense of wanting salvation ought to awaken. And hence we find it commences with pronouncing blessed, not those who rejoice in the consciousness of their moral power and entire conformity to the law, but such as are "poor in spirit," and "that hunger and thirst after righteousness."

SECTION FIFTH.

EXEGETICAL LITERATURE ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

I. THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH.

WE have here scarcely any to mention but such as have commented upon the entire gospel; for the only

one who has treated the sermon on the Mount separately, is Augustine. Whatever, in the shape of comment upon this subject, the Greek church presents, ranges itself around Chrysostom. The exposition which he has left in his Homilies upon the Gospel of Matthew,^a ranks next in value to his admirable Commentaries upon the Epistles of Paul, and greatly excels his exposition of the Gospel of John. Thomas Aquinas declared that he would not relinquish the possession of this work, to be made master of the city of Paris, and Ernesti also confers upon it its due applause, *Inst. Interp. N. T.* 3, 9, § 17. The exposition, it must be confessed, does not seem to have been the result of a very profound or long continued study of the gospel; it is signalized, however, almost as much as the commentary upon Paul's Epistles, by a careful consideration of the import of single words, by ingenuity in the discovery of the connection, and by powerful and animated application to the heart. To him adhere, in the first place, Theophylact and Euthymius Zigabenus, the latter of whom is well known to be the more abundant in matter, having drawn from various other sources besides Chrysostom. Isidorus Pelusiota is also to be considered as an adherent of the great divine of Antioch. Besides his commentary, his letters contain many expositions of texts in Matthew, and the sermon on the Mount. He generally follows Chrysostom, but is far from evincing the talent of that gifted father of the church.

^a Ed. Montf. T. vii. Hom. xv.—xxiv. in Matt.

One portion of the sermon on the Mount, viz. the Lord's Prayer, has often, especially in the ancient church, been made the theme of separate interpretations. Of these we shall speak in their own place, as well as of the similar works which have been written upon the Beatitudes.

Of the Latin Fathers, we have first to mention Hilarius Pictaviensis. True, that as his Commentary upon the Psalms evinces, he is a zealous allegorist, and scholar of Origen, and that he shows himself such in his exposition of the Gospel of Matthew; it cannot, however, be denied, that it contains many excellent thoughts which are expressed with great force and precision.

Jerome's Scholia to Matthew are so short, and embrace so much extraneous matter, that at least they contribute little to illustrate the sermon on the Mount.

Far more important is the exposition which Augustine delivers in his two books, *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, (Tom. iii. Ed. Bened.) It is, indeed, impossible to deny that he here gives way to his peculiar infirmity of expatiating upon what is vague, and wavering amidst a multitude of meanings. But, nevertheless, the work contains many essential hints for the comprehension of the sermon on the Mount. His letters also, and those of Jerome, furnish important materials for the same purpose, as shall be shown at the several passages.

To these commentators we have still to add, the unknown author of the *Opus Imperfectum*, a piece which was circulated under the name of Chrysostom, and is to be found in the 7th volume of the Mont-

faucon edition of his works. As Montfaucon and others have shown, this author wrote his work in Latin, and must be placed at the period succeeding Theodosius. He is by no means destitute of value; Erasmus designates him “eruditus et facundus,” and there is much that is quite original in his exposition.

II. PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION.

Passing over such as Beza, Anselm, and others, who hang entirely upon Augustine, we turn at once to Erasmus. His annotations upon Matthew, in the 6th vol. of the Crit. Sacr., afford many serviceable, and, at all events, original contributions in explication of the language of the discourse. His paraphrase is doubtless liable to the charge brought against it of old by Melancthon, that it is rather a *περίφρασις*, and turns more upon his own than his author's thoughts. The part that relates to the sermon on the Mount will, nevertheless, be read with pleasure, and repay the perusal with many an excellent statement of the meaning.

Next to Erasmus we now mention Luther, whose explication of the sermon is contained in the 7th volume of Walch's edition of his works. We here find, what cannot, in the strict sense of the word, be called a commentary, but rather *ὁμιλίαι*, or, as the Latins say, sermones, tractatus. Now, although in these there is a want of accurate determination of the verbal sense, and frequent long digressions, we still find, as is usual in this author, an astonishing talent for seizing and developing in a popular way the substance of the

precepts. On his explication of the sermon on the Mount, he himself laid some weight, because, as he said, this portion of holy writ is so often misunderstood and perverted.

Melancthon's Annotations in Ev. Matt., which he composed at an earlier date, *i. e.* in 1520, are brief, and scarcely fit for use. They are not to be found in the Wittenberg edition of his works, but their place is supplied by the Sermons of Fröschel, for which Melancthon had prepared the matter, partly in plans, partly in finished discourses.

With these two reformers we have yet to join from the sixteenth century, and the Lutheran church, Joach. Camerarius, Wolfg. Musculus, Erasm. Sarcerius, Martin Chemnitz, and Aeg. Hunnius. Musculus' Commentary upon Matthew (1551) is full and theological; Sarcerius' Scholia in Matt. (1538) solid and pertinent; Camerarius, as professor of philosophy, delivers in his *Notatio Figurarum*, &c. scarcely any thing but philological remarks, generally weighty, but known in our times as irrelevant. The most important is Martin Chemnitz's great work, *Harmonia Evangelica*, †1586, (Hamb. 1704, 3 vols. fol.) This distinguished theologian was allowed to finish only the seven first chapters of Matt.; he found, however, as successor in the task, the no less able Polyc. Lyser, after whose decease, the twice interrupted work was completed by Joh. Gerhard. For the illustration it gives of the theological matter in the Gospel of Matthew, and particularly in the sermon on the Mount, this work eminently deserves recommendation, and contains a boundless store of useful materials

for the practical clergyman. Aeg. Hunnius †1603, whose Commentary upon Matthew, was first published 1708, and afterwards in his *Thesaurus Evangelicus*, by Feustking, 1706, belongs to those who convert exegesis into doctrinal discussion. The bulk of this commentary is taken up with the *Loci Communes*.

But, to come to the reformed church, the first we have to mention is Zwingli, whose Annotations upon the New Testament, in the 4th vol. of the Zurich edition of his works, are, owing to their great rarity, little known in Germany. The praise given him by the author of the preface, his faithful colleague Leo Juda, viz. that he had illustrated Scripture *mirâ claritate, brevitae ac simplicitate, parique diligentia dexteritate ac fide*, even Richard Simon is disposed to concede (*Hist. des Comment. p. 729.*). Any thing very superior he certainly does not produce, but still he is frequently original in his conceptions. Far above his performance is to be ranked the Exposition annexed by Calvin to his Gospel Harmony, even although this work of the immortal reformer is just the one which did not obtain the last polish, and hence is less satisfactory than the rest. In point of grammatical criticism, Beza, as is well known, stands highest. With these masters from the reformed church, we have honourably to associate as expositors, first, Joh. Piscator, professor in Herborn †1626, (*Commentarii in omnes libros N. T. ed. tertia, 1638*), who unites accuracy in seizing the sense of the words with talent in developing the connection of the ideas; secondly, Benedict Aretius †1574, whose commentaries upon the N. T. are chiefly doc-

trinal, but, as may generally be said of the doctrinal commentaries that have issued from the reformed church, do not run out too much into digressions. The great master of the Hebrew tongue, Conrad Pellicanus †1556, in the 6th vol. of his works, has likewise commented upon Matthew with brevity, and frequently makes pertinent observations. We possess a *Catena*, collected principally from the exegetical authors of this church by the contemporary of the Reformation, Augustine Marloratus; *Novi Testam. Expositio Catholica Ecclesiastica*, 1st Ed. 1605.

The more celebrated expositors of the Gospels from the Romish church, belong, for by far the most part, to the period subsequent to the Reformation. We name Faber Stapulensis, Vatablus, the Cardinal Cajetan, Clarius, Zegerus, Salmero, Maldonatus, and Jansenius. The commentary of Maldonatus (†1583) is the only one eminently fit for use; it is composed with comprehensive erudition, and no small acuteness and originality. Next to him, Jansenius upon his Gospel Harmony, may likewise certainly be consulted with profit.

III. THE SEVENTEENTH AND FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

From the seventeenth century we have to note as foremost, Erasmus Schmid, †1637, who, in the Annotations to his Translation of the New Testament, has delivered many remarks, which, for the time at which he lived, must be considered of high excellence, and Abraham Calov, in his *Biblia illustrata*.

Descending to the first half of the eighteenth century, we have to specify the learned Christ. Wolf, whose *Curæ Philolog. Criticæ* (1741), are known to be a collection of very multifarious and partly artificial explications; the *Observationes Sacræ ad Ev. Matt.* Lips. 1730, of Gottfred Olearius, a work evincing exegetical talent and philological knowledge; the *Gnomon N. T.* (1st Ed. 1742) of Bengel, which abounds in ingenious and profound remark, often derived from deep inward experience; and, in fine, Heumann's *Exposition of the N. T.*, of which the 1st vol. appeared in 1750. In the part which contains the three first Gospels, we by no means find the rich collection of materials which distinguishes the sequel.

From the reformed church, we have first to mention the learned *Exercitationes Evangel.* of Abr. Scultetus †1625 (Amsterdam 1624), which relate chiefly to the first chapters, and present us with much useful matter; moreover, the highly valuable *Dubia Evangelica*, 3 vol. 1651, of the elder of the two celebrated Spanheims †1649. Upon this work, Hottinger has pronounced: *Quod si in universum contextum sacrum (dubia illa) dari potuissent, nihil in hoc studiorum genere desiderari amplius potuisse.* It handles, with equal erudition, ingenuity, and conciseness of expression, all the doctrinal difficulties which the perusal of the Gospels suggest. It extends, to be sure, no farther than to the middle of the fifth chapter of Matthew, but contains a very great deal of useful matter for the exposition of the first part of the sermon on the Mount. In the church

of Holland, Cocceius deserves to be noticed. His commentary upon Matthew, in the 4th vol. of his *Opera Omnia*, is concise, free from digressions upon doctrine, and exhibits erudition and judgment. From the French reformed church, we must particularize as valuable, especially for a knowledge of the fathers, the *Remarques Philologiques et Critiques sur le Nouveau Testament* of Beausobre, (La Haye 1742,) which form a third part to the translation of the New Testament, by the same author and Lenfant; they contain, however, much that is unprofitable. The work of Hammond is what principally deserves notice among the productions which have emanated from the church of England; it first acquired value, however, as is notorious, from the learned annotations of Clericus. Besides those mentioned, the reformed church possessed at this era, other learned philologists, who, by their *Animadversiones*, principally collected in the *Critici Sacri*, have diffused light upon many passages of the sermon, viz. Jacob and Lewis Capellus, Drusius, Lewis de Dieu, and Price. Price's by no means trivial *Commentarii in varios N. T. libros*, appeared 1660 in London, and have been received into the fifth vol. of the Frankfort edition of the *Critici Sacri*. The *Myrothecium Evang.* (Saurmur, 1667) of John Camero, who shews himself elsewhere an able expositor, contains little of importance upon the sermon on the Mount. On the other hand, however, peculiar notice is due to the *Horæ Hebraicæ Talmudicæ* of Lightfoot, and to the work of his continuator Schöttgen, under the same title. The last exegetical author of the reformed church of this

age is Jac. Elsner, whose *Commentarius Critico-philologicus in Ev. Mat.* was edited by Stosch, Utrecht, 1767. It is a work by no means to be overlooked, uniting pious sentiment with very copious erudition, and tolerable liberality of judgment.

We have still to notice in this period, to which they mostly belong, the Socinian and Arminian interpreters. Faustus Socinus, has left us an unfinished set of lectures upon Matthew; it goes as far as the sixth chapter, and is to be found in the 1st vol. of the *Biblia Fratrum Polon.*; Crell's Commentary on Matthew, reaches only to the commencement of the fifth chapter, but the 3d vol. of that *Biblia Fratrum Polon.* contains a complete Commentary upon the same Evangelist, by Wolzogen. The productions both of Socinus, and of Wolzogen, are superficial, of the latter Grotius has made diligent use. We have, besides, to name Przipcow's *Cogitationes ad initium Ev. Mat.* in the 9th vol. of the work to which we have twice referred. Grotius' Commentary upon the Gospels, is well known to abound in multifarious erudition and original and valuable remark. His numerous quotations of parallel passages from the classics, however, not only give no help to understand the sayings of Christ, but, by their merely apparent resemblance, frequently lead astray. We also possess from Simon Episcopius, the laborious explorer of Scripture, a commentary upon Matthew, contained in the 2d vol. of his *Opera*; in date, it is the last of his labours in this field, and was only carried by himself to the twenty-fourth chapter; Limborch has pronounced it the most finished of his exegetical works. Episco-

pius, here also shews his powers of original reflection. The work, however, seems never to have received the last polish, and the exposition is often wavering and incomplete. In Wetstein's collections, the parallels that turn upon the matter, are inferior in utility to those that turn upon the words.

IV. FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
TO THE PRESENT DAY.

In this later era, no great number of important works upon Matthew have been produced. It is well known of what character are the commentaries of J. G. Rosenmüller, Paulus, Kuinoel, Henneberg, and Fritzsche. The last which have appeared, are the Exposition of the Synopsis in the 1st part of Olshausen's work, and that in H. A. B. Meyer's Commentary upon the New Testament, P. 1st, 1832. In the explanation of words, the latter principally follows Fritzsche, although without slavish dependence; he has done nothing to illustrate the religious meaning. In this respect, Olshausen, as is known, has earned for himself distinguished merit. With laudable independence, rare ingenuity, and great fertility of thought and sentiment, he has expounded the Gospels, casting an interest over all, and light upon many parts. Among the rest, the sermon on the Mount is much indebted to his exposition. The numerous writers of observations need only be incidentally remembered, such *e. g.* as, Krebs, Kypke, Elsner and others. Of modern interpreters in the Romish church, we may name Mat. Gratz (1821,) whose work is devoid, not indeed of learning, but in a high degree of

intellect and taste, and Kistemacher, whose annotations, although they contain scarcely any thing new, contain generally what is good.

These later times have also produced several separate treatises on the character of the sermon on the Mount; none of which, however, with the exception, perhaps, of Rau's, advance the exegesis of the subject. The principal writings of this kind are the following: 1st. Jehnichen, *de Consilio, quod Iesus in oratione, quæ dicitur montana, secutus est.* Witteb. 1786. The author looks upon the discourse as a connected whole. 2d. Pott, *de Natura atque indole orationis montanæ.* Helmst. 1789. 3d. Oertel, *de Oratione Iesu montana ejusque consilio.* Witteb. 1802. A poor essay upon the time, place, and plan of the sermon. 4th. Rau, *Untersuchung die wahre Ansicht der Bergpredigt betreffend.* Erlangen, 1805. For the most part, these investigations are employed in shewing that the discourse was not addressed to the Apostles alone. 5th. Grosse, *de Consilio quod Christus in oratione montana secutus sit.* Gott. 1818. A very weak attempt to trace a train of thought in the sermon. 6th. Jentzen, *de Indole ac ratione orationis montanæ.* Lubecæ, 1819. A somewhat better, but still feeble attempt, of the same kind. Here also is the place to notice the work, already named at p. 31, of the Dutchman Ferf. It is principally taken up with Evanson's doubts about the authenticity of Matthew, and seeks to overthrow them as far as they affect his theme. He handles, however, many other points suitable for an introduction to the sermon on

the Mount. It must be added, that this, like many of the dissertations of Dutchmen, is filled with a vast quantity of weak unprofitable stuff.

A list of the principal treatises upon single sayings of the sermon, will be given at the end of the work.



EXPOSITION.

CHAPTER V.

INTRODUCTION.

WE first call up the external circumstances under which the discourse was delivered.

With respect to the multitudes which we here find congregated, partly from distant regions, the favourite way in modern times is to imagine them composed of caravans, travelling to a festival in Jerusalem, or already upon their return from that metropolis. But there is no foundation for this supposition in the words of the text, at least; What then should the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judea be doing in this corner of the land? The Evangelist seems to assign, as the cause of the gathering of the multitudes, the fame of Christ's miraculous powers, which had penetrated as far as Syria (c. iv. 24.). If, however, some additional reason be required for such a concourse of people from all parts of Judea in this quarter, let it be remembered, that Capernaum, a principal depôt for the commerce of the Syrian caravans, was situate upon the Via Maris, along the sides of which numerous cisterns, hewn in the rock, and visible at the present day, are monuments of the prodigious traffic by

which it was anciently enlivened.^a So that, apart from our Saviour's power of working miracles, we have a sufficient reason for there being in this neighbourhood a stirring concourse of both foreigners and natives from all parts of Palestine.^b

Christ's object in ascending the mountain was, as we learn from Luke, that, withdrawn from the great multitudes of people, he might spend the night in undisturbed converse with God. The name of the mountain is not mentioned, and yet the definite article is used. This led Storr, Kuinöl, Gratz, and others, after the example of several ancients, to suppose that the definite is here put for the indefinite article.^a Ewald and Viner, in Simons' Lexicon Hebr. s. l. ה have shewn, that in the Hebrew, such a substitution does not take place; although one would not flatly deny, as the latter, in his N. T. Grammatik, s. 96, has done, that in any language the determinate sense of the articulus definitus ever can disappear, seeing that the status emphaticus in the Aramaic dialects is a proof of the contrary. Since Viner's time, expositors have regarded the τὸ ὄρος as indicating a particular mountain, with which it is presupposed that the reader is acquainted; according as

^a Ritter's Erdkunde, ii. 390.

^b On this subject there is a treatise by Less: De Galilæa opportuno Servat. Miracul. Theatro. Opusc. T. ii.

^c Cocceius, who here explains the article in the same way, wished also to have recourse to the expedient at Is. vii. 16, in the word הַנֶּעֱר, whereby the direct application to the Messiah is most easily vindicated; although certainly in total contradiction to the context.

Dr. Fritzsche expresses it: *ascendit montem quem nostis*. We must remember, however, that Matthew has not mentioned, and Luke as little, in what part of Galilee Jesus then was; and should it be replied, that this is afterwards stated, Matt. viii. 5, Luke vii. 1, the answer is very unsatisfactory, seeing that the reader, when perusing the commencement, cannot possibly anticipate what follows after three or four pages. Besides, the manner in which ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος elsewhere occurs, is also such as to leave us totally uncertain with respect to the place where it happened. Nor is this the case merely in Matthew, against whom it might be made the ground of a fresh charge of want of particularity, but in Luke ix. 28, in Mark iii. 13, and even in John vi. 3 and 15. Might it not, therefore, be more correct to say, that the article in these instances indicates the genus, as elsewhere, τὰ ὄρη, Matt. xviii. 12? Like 𐤒𐤓 in Hebrew, so likewise is τὸ ὄρος used in the sense of ἡ ὄρεινή. The LXX. sometimes employ the latter, Gen. xiv. 10, Deut. ii. 37, Josh. ii. 16, sometimes the former, Gen. xix. 17, 19, 30; xxxi. 23, 25; xxxvi. 8, 9. The expression would then have the same kind of indefinitude as perchance the ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις in Luke v. 16. It appears to me, in short, that in this passage we must still conceive as if the definite were used in place of the indefinite article. To understand it as signifying generally *the hilly country*, may also be the more readily done, when we consider that the mountains of these regions everywhere take the form of flat uplands, and especially since the sea of Tiberias is enclosed as in a basin by the surrounding heights. Ac-

cordingly, when we read τὸ ὄρος in the gospels, we must think sometimes only indeterminately of the uplands, sometimes, again, of a particular mountain among them. Now, in this passage, we may, with perfect propriety, understand the very mountain which is pointed out by tradition as the scene of the sermon. The reports of travellers have made us sufficiently acquainted with the situation and environs of Capernaum, to enable us to form a confident judgment with respect to that tradition. For while the gay scenes of history pass in ceaseless change over the face of a country, the forms of nature remain standing immutable spectators, and it is an unspeakably delightful feeling to recognise in and upon these, the distinctive marks of ages that have long since gone by. To determine the situation of Capernaum, the data furnished by Josephus, Adamnanus, and Bonifacius, and which are collected by Bachiene;^a those of Brocardus,^b and the Count of Solms,^c amply suffice. Of the two last, the former in 1283, and the latter in 1483, still found the remains of Capernaum, whereas Korte in 1737 could no more perceive even the rubbish. By combining the different accounts, it appears, that the city must have been situate almost at the northern extremity of the sea of Galilee, where, in Grimm's map of Palestine, it is, in point of fact, laid down. Near this place, by Brocard's account, about a German mile distant from the village, which, in his time, bore the name of Capernaum, rises the

^a II. 4. p. 186.

^b P. 858.

^c P. 122 of the Nurnberger Reissbuch. 1659.

mountain to which tradition points as the place where the sermon was delivered. It has been most accurately described by Pococke,^a Korte,^b and Stephan Schulz.^c When seen from the south, it appears to be a long low hill, with two elevations upon the eastern and western sides, from which circumstance, it is to this day called *the Horns of Huttin*, a village which lies at the western foot of it, among beautiful gardens of lemon and orange trees. The summit of the eastern height is nineteen paces long and sixteen broad, and about the centre, on a somewhat elevated spot, is the foundation of a little church, marking the place upon which our Saviour is said to have stood. “It is certain,” says Korte, “that the mountain is very suitable for the delivery of a sermon; its summit is moderately flattened, and takes the form of a basin, and the sides have a gentle slope, and are all around calculated to serve as a pulpit, and sitting place for a large audience.” Now, if we are to understand that the sermon was delivered not merely among the uplands in general, but really upon a mountain, then, considering that, with the exception of Tabor, situated fifteen miles to the south, no other single mountain is to be found in the district, and, at the same time, that its proximity to Capernaum, and shape, make it convenient for the purpose, there is nothing that can be objected to the tradition, which supposes this mountain to have been the one on which our Saviour spoke.

We have still an additional circumstance to state, which makes us certain that the mountain stands near

^a II. § 92.

^b Reise ins Gelobte Land. s. 308.

^c Leitungen des Höchsten, Th. v. s. 198.

the position of the ancient Capernaum. Josephus^a speaks of a copious fountain which was likewise called *καρυφναούμ*, and beautifully watered this district of Galilee. Now Brocardus^b makes mention of a lively spring which rises at no great distance from the sea in the mountain of the beatitudes.^c Accordingly, when Luke tells us, that coming down from the mountain, Jesus stood upon a *τόπος πεδινός*, where the multitudes also took their station, we must not understand the plain close to the city (*τὸ πεδίον, ἢ πεδινή*), but, as the *τόπος* implies, some more level *spot* on that side of the mountain, where, books of travels in-

^a De Bello Judaico, Lib. iii. c. 10, § 8.

^b P. 858 des Nurnberger Reissbuchs.

^c That we can thus, in the vicinity of the ancient Capernaum, point to a mountain convenient for the delivery of the discourse, may appear a trivial circumstance. It is not, however, destitute of all weight, but seems so only in comparison with the more important circumstances which confirm the historical character of the sacred narrative. Supposing it could be shewn, that the environs of Capernaum were not at all hilly, and that no single mountain existed in the neighbourhood, would not this fact greatly strengthen the suspicion entertained of the historical truth of the Gospel? Whatever tends to shew, that the Evangelist, even in minute and trifling details, coincides so perfectly with history, is of so much the greater consequence in the present age, when so many attempts are made to convert the Gospel narratives in general, and that of Matthew in particular, into a dark and random compilation of traditions. How, for instance, can Schleiermacher assert? (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1832, IV. s. 746.): “The mountain which Matthew here makes Christ ascend, we can only seek in the whole country of Galilee,” whereas we have seen that the locality of Capernaum exactly agrees with the statement of the Evangelist.

form us, the declivity is not steep. The travellers of so early a date as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, concur with those of more modern times, in saying, that it is covered, in many parts, with a rich herbage; and as we are told, in Mark vi. 39, John vi. 10, that the multitude sat down upon the grass, they did the same here.^a

The time of day when the sermon was delivered, we learn from Luke; it was the early morning. And now let us try to figure to ourselves the charms of this Galilean landscape, o'er-canopied by an oriental sky, in order to reproduce, while we are reading them, the same impression which was made by the words when they were heard.

While, on every other occasion, during his abode upon earth, the Son of God preferred the unostentatious and obscure, he seems to have selected the most beautiful and enchanting spot in nature, as the temple in which to open his ministry. Travellers are wont to liken the mountain scenery of Galilee to the finest in their native lands, the Swede Hasselquist to

^a When Kaiser, in his Synoptical Arrangement of the Gospels, p. 83, and afterwards in his Commentarius quo linguæ Aramaicæ usus, ad judicanda et interpretanda plura, N. T. loca defenditur. Norimb. 1831, p. 8, tries to explain the *τόπος πεδινός* by the Chaldaic **שפולא** the *declivity, plain*, it is difficult to perceive why recourse should be had to the Chaldaic, considering that the Greek word likewise signifies a *level place*. Certainly, however, the term does not here indicate the foot of the mountain, for in that case no particular *τόπος* would be mentioned, *τὸ πεδίον* would have been used, or *ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ ὄρους*.

East Gothland, and Clarke, the Englishman, to the romantic dales of Kent and Surrey. The environs of the Galilean sea have been compared with the banks of the Lake of Geneva. This is said in the present day, when the weight of the Turkish sceptre, like the curse of heaven, oppresses that once blooming land. What then must it have been when the Saviour of the world made it the scene of his presence! Even Josephus, in speaking of Galilee, rises into a poetical mood. “Marvellous,” he says,^a “for natural beauty is the country around the Sea of Genesaret. Such is the fertility of the soil, that it produces, spontaneously, all shrubs. But, besides this, the husbandmen have planted the most various sorts, for there is none which the temperature of the climate does not suit. In other regions the nut tree requires cold, but there it grows in the richest luxuriance; there also flourishes the palm, though usually it delights in heat, and there, side by side, the fig and olive, which agree with a milder air. There seems to be an emulation in nature endeavouring to bring together the contending parties. The seasons also carry on a beautiful rivalry, each struggling with the other for the possession of the land.” But, charming above all must be the beauty of the region where it presents itself in one view, precisely at the spot on which our Saviour delivered his discourse. Korte informs us, that the mountain, standing as it does apart, commands the same prospect which is seen from Tabor. Far off the rich and blooming landscape of Galilee;

^a De Bello Judæo, iii. 108.

to the north, the snow-crowned Hermon; to the west, the woody Carmel. Maundrel even saw from Tabor the Mediterranean. At the distance of a stone-cast the cheerful sea of Galilee, encircled with mountain and forest. Add to the picture, the cloudless sky of southern regions and the solemn silence of the early morn.^a “The whole scene,” says Hess, “is of a character familiar and grave, attractive and dignified. The clear sky above him, and the rural district around, formed a natural temple. No synagogue, not even the temple of the metropolis itself, could make so deep and solemn an impression. There were to be seen here none of the formalities which would have accompanied the ordinary lecture of a Jewish teacher. He sat down upon the rising-ground, and, fixing his eyes on the disciples, who stood next to him, began, ‘Blessed are the poor in spirit.’”

We must likewise, however, advert to the expectations which the assembled audience brought along with them, in order both to conceive fully the impression produced by the discourse, and to comprehend the reasons why our Saviour selects the topics which form the subject of it. It was spoken about the commencement of his ministry. As we learn from many passages, he had never decidedly announced

^a The emotions of a warm adorer of Christ upon this spot, as evening darkened around him, under a deep impression of the beauties of nature, and remembering the words that once were heard at the place, have been described by the English traveller Wilson. *Travels in the Holy Land*, 3d Ed., 1831, ii. p. 6.

himself before the multitude as the promised Messiah, although, on the other hand, he had repeatedly hinted this, and even, under certain circumstances, avowed it. Now here we cannot mistake the intention to disclose who he was, to such as uprightly longed for the promised Saviour, and, at the same time, to keep himself concealed from the rude mass of the people, who were so much inclined to gratify, by means of him, their impure hopes (John vi. 15). From the strained expectations, not only cherished, at the time, by the Jews, but which, as Tacitus bears witness, issuing from among them, prevailed over the whole East, that the salvation, promised by the prophets, was soon to dawn; from the manifold allusions which Christ himself had made, and the miracles he had performed, it could not but happen that some must have seen in him the promised Messiah, (John vi. 14; vii. 41,) others, at the least, a wonderful messenger of God. There would be few who listened to him merely as an ordinary scribe. The whole character of the sermon, and such particular sayings as v. 17, vii. 21, 22, plainly intimated that one greater than the common teachers here spoke. Nor does the audience at the close belie this impression (vii. 28, 29.). Now these lofty anticipations, which the bulk of his hearers brought along with them, operated also upon Jesus in determining the substance of his discourse. He embraced the opportunity herè offered, to pourtray, in contrast with the carnal and revolutionary views and expectations of many, the nature of his kingdom, and the character of its members. It was this which induced him to commence the dis-

course as he did; this was the reason of his intimating, with so much emphasis, that he was not come forcibly to subvert the old covenant (v. 17, 18), but, in opposition to a false libertinism, to establish a spiritual yet far stricter bond than that of the ancient *νόμος*.

GENERAL VIEW OF V. 3—12.

AT the outset, the discourse comes, on the one hand, into sharp collision with carnal views and expectations, and, on the other, portrays, in the most beautiful and definite manner, the peculiarity of the new, compared with the old covenant. The Saviour here, in accordance with so many other passages, announces himself, not chiefly in the character of a lawgiver or a judge, but as One come to bestow blessedness, and that upon those who build no hope upon themselves. The singularity of this introduction induced many, even in the ancient church, and has again in modern times, as we mentioned in the note p. 31, induced Stier to regard the sermon on the Mount as a sort of antistrophe to the giving of the law on Sinai; its centre and heart being the Lord's Prayer in the sixth chapter. This supposition, however, is destitute of sufficient basis, inasmuch as the Lord's Prayer, in the place it occupies, is only incidentally introduced, and has no influence upon the train of thought that runs through the discourse. The pith of our Lord's sermon is more to be considered as consisting, like the other, in legislation, so that, as the spiritual code of the Christian, it rather forms

an actual parallel to the promulgation of the Sinaitic law, with but one exception, involved in the nature of New Testament legislation, viz. that it is introduced by pronouncing those blessed who feel their own impotence, and, in so far, involves a reference to that source of the Christian's strength, which is more distinctly made known to us in other passages. Even for this reason, therefore, the beatitudes must not be parallelized with the blessing which, along with the curses, accompanied the legislation of Sinai (Deut. xxvii.); against which, moreover, the בָּרַךְ there also speaks, seeing that μακάριος cannot be regarded as its translation, but occurs twenty-five times in the Psalms, as the translation of אֲשֶׁרִי.

The beatitudes form, as we said, in the first instance, an antithesis to the carnal expectations of a Messiah. We must not, however, regard this temporary and local reference, as exhausting their meaning ;^a For the declarations here uttered by Jesus, delineate,

^a One of the most faithful adherents of Semler, in the practice of limiting to the time and place, when and where they were pronounced, the sayings of the New Testament, was Eichhorn. In a passage of the Allgemeine Bibliothek, he complains that a too comprehensive sense is given to them, and with great naivetè remarks, that this circumstance, so unfavourable for exegesis, would never cease, as long as ministers were forced to preach from texts of Scripture, which obliged them always to handle the sayings of Christ as applicable to our, and to all times. The professor of exegesis, however, forgot, that had it not been for this circumstance, so disadvantageous for the science he professes, *never would chairs for professors of exegesis been instituted at all.*

in the order of its successive stages, the development of spiritual life. True, that Christian virtue is but one, and that, in the germ of the religious life, all the virtues lie comprised, so that “the various clusters of the vine which the heavenly Father plants in believers,”^a must ever be co-existing; still, however, one ripens earlier than another, and in so far we may say, that spiritual life brings, in its different stages, different virtues to maturity. The first in date is the consciousness of *inward poverty*, of a want of the spirit; from this there emanates the pain of a *sense of guilt* and *imperfection*, and that gives birth to a disposition of *humble meekness*, and the *desire after righteousness*. In proportion as this desire is satisfied, and a man has obtained forgiveness, a *compassionate love* for others is awakened in his heart, he becomes *pure from his sin*, and endeavours to *impart to his brethren the peace which himself has acquired*. But the world does not understand his aim, and, therefore, Christ adds, that those peacemakers,—here represented as now possessed of righteousness—are misunderstood and reviled for the righteousness of the kingdom of heaven, and for his sake. Thus in this introduction, the clauses are finely linked, each to the other; there is also harmony in the number of the beatitudes, for the condi-

^a A beautiful figure, which Origen employs in speaking of the virtues here recommended.—Basilus, in allusion to them, says: ἴσος ὁ κίνδυνος τοῖς πᾶσιν, ἐνὸς ἐλλειφθέντος. (The book, however, which we shall often quote, is, as we may here observe, spurious. See Combesius and Garnier in Præf. ad T. II. Opp.)

tion of the citizen of the Messiah's kingdom is described in the sacred number seven ; the persecution delineated in the last two, which are properly but one, being, as the μακάριοί ἐστε of the latter shews, nothing more than a supplement.

The promises correspond with the character of the receivers: To the poor is held out, the possession of a kingdom ; to mourners, comfort ; to the suffering meek, lordship ; to the hungry, the supply of their wants ; to the merciful, mercy ; to those the eye of whose heart is pure, the vision of the Lofty One ; and to promoters of peace, the recognition of their resemblance to God. All these various blessings we may likewise call different clusters on the one vine of the heavenly kingdom. That they form a climax, as Menken, for instance, imagined,^a we cannot say. Were that the case, " their's is the kingdom of heaven," would not be repeated in v. 10, on which account, some propose to read: ὅτι αὐτοί ἔσονται τέλειοι. For even although the preceding heptad be considered as a whole, and v. 10 as supplementary, we should still expect, that a higher degree of blessedness would be promised to those who are persecuted for righteousness sake, than to the spiritually poor ; moreover, the promise of v. 7, would precede that of v. 6, and that of v. 8, undoubtedly be the last. In general, however, we must view these promises, as stating what falls as a portion to every virtue, when attaining completion, it embraces all the rest ; and thus no beatitude, taken by itself, has properly any validity.

^a Betrachtungen Ueber den Matthæus. Bremen, 1822, s. 293.

We have still to call attention to the similarity of the way in which the Saviour here announces himself, to that employed in the synagogue of Nazareth, Luke iv. 18. He there opens the book of Isaias at the place lxi. 1, and declares that it was fulfilled in him. Here, in like manner, ver. 3 relates to the first, and ver. 4 to the second of that sixty-first chapter. The sermon is throughout rich in Old Testament allusions. Ferf, in his *Specimen*,^a has made a collection of these, though it is not complete. The choice of this diction, was, doubtless, proper for the occasion. How much more attentive must the people have been, when the sacred words, with which they were familiar, sounded in their ears; and if our Saviour expounded them spiritually, how much more deeply must the listeners have been guided into the comprehension of the Old Testament! Chrysostom: ἀπὸ τῶν συντρόφων αὐτοῖς ῥημάτων ἐνυφαίνει τὸν λόγον, ὥστε μὴ πανταχοῦ ξενωφωνεῖσθαι.^b

V. 2. I shall here make a single observation upon the words ἀνοίγειν τὸ στόμα, as, in modern times, it has been made the subject of discussion. From a very early period, an emphasis was sought and discovered in this phrase. Chrysostom,—with reference to the ἐδίδασκεν, which immediately follows—asserts that the Evangelist thereby meant to intimate that even the *silence* of Christ was a lesson. Luther connects

^a P. 56.

^b He weaves his discourse out of sentences familiar to them from their infancy, that it might not seem altogether the voice of a stranger.

with it the threefold rule, which he elsewhere lays down for the preacher. "Come boldly forward, open your mouth, soon conclude," and explains the *opening of the mouth* to mean a fearless and intrepid style of preaching. "Out with it bluntly, let none be respected or spared, whom or whatsoever the word may strike." With perhaps the exception of Beza, almost all have understood it as laying an emphasis upon the ἐδίδασκεν which follows, making that expressive, as most, with Luther, think, of a loud and undaunted way of bearing testimony or teaching; some also, however, of a discourse in a lofty style, and of considerable length. There, likewise, arose a dispute between the Hebraists, and Purists, as to whether the expression was, what Beza, Vorstius, and Gatacker deemed it, a Hebraism, or ought rather to be considered classical. Georgi, in his *Vindiciæ N. T.*^a produced instances of even prose authors, such as Isocrates and Demosthenes, using λῦειν τὸ στόμα in the same way; and Balth. Stolberg shewed, that so likewise do Æschylus and Sophocles, οἴγειν and ἐκλύειν τὸ στόμα. Modern exegetical authors, *e. g.* Rosenmüller, Schleusner, and Kuinöl, looked upon the phrase as a pleonasm. The latest, *viz.* Dr. Fritzsche, Wahl, and Meyer, refusing to subscribe to either opinion, tell us that the expression occurs in a twofold way. In a number of passages, it means *diducere os ad loquendum*, and describes with the graphic particularity of oriental nations, that which precedes the act of speaking; in another set of passages, it sig-

^a L. iii. c. 4. § 45.

nifies neither more nor less than *to speak*. This assertion, however, carries the matter to an extreme, and consequently becomes incorrect. Would it be possible, in every place where ἔλεγε or εἶπε stands, to superadd the ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα? Certainly not. It rather appears that this minuteness of description is introduced, when *solemnity* is to be given to the expression, and so imparts a degree of emphasis to the λέγειν, which the following passages shew, Job. iii. 1; xxxii. 20. Acts viii. 35; x. 34. Moreover, in the passages where ἀνοίγειν τὸ στόμα does nothing more than stand, as they think, instead of λέγειν, the same thing, at least in most cases, takes place; it would sound ridiculous if, at every trivial expression, ἀνοίγειν τὸ στόμα should be substituted for λέγειν. And, to say the truth, it can never be denied that the phrase frequently denotes *speaking aloud*, and therewith, as Luther took it up, *confidently*; Prov. xxxi. 8, 9. Ezek. iii. 27; xxxiii. 22. Ecclesiasticus xv. 5; xx. 14; xxiv. 2. 2 Cor. vi. 11. Compare Is. lviii. 1, קרא בגרון, which likewise signifies *a bold address*. In all the passages we have quoted, there stands פתח פי. An emphasis of a different kind lies in the phrase פצה פי. This originally denoted, in like manner, no more than to *open the mouth*; but it came at last to mean, par excellence, *thoughtless and imprudent speaking*. As regards our present passage, there seems to be a superior correctness in the observation of Pellicanus, that the ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα prepares us for a discourse of considerable length, with which the idea of solemnity is also connected.

V. 3d. In this verse we have first to attend to the

construction. It has been proposed by Olearius, who is often very peculiar in his expositions, to unite the dative τῷ πνεύματι, as a more precise definition, with μακάριοι. This construction has also been adopted by Wetstein,^a Heumann, Michaelis and Paulus. Knapp has been the foremost to declare against it, and with a full statement of the grounds. The most obvious objection arises from the position of the words. Why is τῷ πνεύματι deferred? This these interpreters attempt to vindicate, by saying that we have here a literal translation of the original phrase used by the Saviour. Now Knapp will not concede that, as some of his Reviewers were of opinion, Christ could have said אֲשֶׁרֵי הָעֲנִיִּים רוּחַ. If, however, we affix the pronoun to רוּחַ, and make it רוּחַם, nothing can be objected to this accus. absolutus. But unquestionably, if such were the Hebrew words pronounced at first, the Evangelist has translated them very ambiguously. Besides, we have to take into consideration: 1. That the proposed construction destroys the symmetry of the beatitude, as compared with the rest: 2. That the following beatitudes would ill assort with it, if this treated of bodily poverty: 3. The καθαροὶ τῆς καρδίας of ver. 8, suggests here the usual construction. Indeed, never would this construction, which not a single translator or expositor of ancient times has

^a Wetstein, however, differs from the rest in interpreting πνεῦμα to mean the Spirit of God; so that τῷ πνεύματι is here dat. judicantis, as *e. g.* in Greek ὡς ἐμοί (Matthiæ, Gr. Gramm. 2d. ed. § 388) = ἐνώπιον τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἀληθείας, *Blessed in the judgment of God.*

adopted, have been fallen upon, if it had not been deemed necessary to bring Luke, who has but *μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί*, into concord with Matthew.^a For the same reason Olearius took the *οἱ πτωχοί* in our text as the vocative, and the pronoun of the third person *αὐτῶν* in the sense of *ὑμῶν*. But if in another, and far easier way, we can bring about an agreement between the two Evangelists, there is no reason for having recourse to the forced construction in question.

We turn then to the explanation of *πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι*, which, in every successive century, we find to have been taken up in numberless different modifications of meaning. We may divide the expositions into three classes. The first refers the words to *bodily*, the second to *spiritual*, poverty; the third seeks to conjoin both. The application to *bodily* poverty, is brought forward in the most pointed way by those expositors of the Romish church, who view this saying in connection with Mat. xix. 21, and several other passages, as a *consilium evangelicum paupertatis voluntariæ*. In this case, the word *πνεῦμα* is taken, as Maldonatus does, at once in the sense of *voluntas*; and, in proof of that, an appeal is made to Mat. xxvi. 41; Rom. i. 9; 1 Cor. vii. 34; Eph.

^a Another motive certainly operated in the case of Dr. Paulus, and that characterizes so strongly the spirit which prevailed at the commencement of the present century;—and, alas! to many that past is still the present—that we must not omit the passage in which it is expressed. “If Jesus,” he says, “had annexed *τῷ πνεύματι* to *οἱ πτωχοί*, then must **ענין** **רוח** have signified *inward sufferers, the sad at heart*. But that is what Jesus, the *cheerful promoter of mirth*, never could have thought of wishing his disciples to be.”

iv. 3. This explanation finds support in the ancient church. Jerome expounds: Qui propter spiritum sanctum voluntate sunt pauperes; and Basil, although in another place he seems to interpret the words differently,^a says in the Homily^b to Ps. xxxiii. 5; Οὐκ αἰεὶ ἐπαινετὴ ἡ πτωχεία, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐκ προαιρέσεως κατὰ τὸν εὐαγγελικὸν σκοπὸν κατορθουμένη. Πολλοὶ γὰρ πτωχοὶ μὲν τῇ περιουσίᾳ, πλκονεκτικώτατοι δὲ τῇ προαίρεσει τυγχάνουσιν· οὗς οὐκ ἡ ἐνδεια σώζει, ἀλλ' ἡ προαίρεσις κατὰκρίνει· οὐ τοίνουν ὁ ἐνδεὴς πάντως μακαριστὸς, ἀλλ' ὁ κρείττονα ἡγησάμενος τῶν τοῦ κόσμου θησαυρῶν, τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τούτους καὶ ὁ κύριος μακαρίζει λέγων μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι.^c So also in the Reg. Brev. Inter. 205; and so in Gregory of Nyssa's Oratio prima de Beatitudinibus. Yes, even those fathers of the Greek church, who, like Chrysostom, understand by πτωχοί, *the spiritually poor*, do nevertheless explain τῷ πνεύματι, by τῇ προαιρέσει καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ. Our first question must, therefore, be, whether τῷ πνεύματι

^a In the commentary to Is. xiv. § 287. T. I. 597, he illustrates πτωχοί, with an appeal to the N. Test. words; πτωχοὺς δὲ οὐ τοὺς κατὰ χρέματα ἐνδεεῖς λέγει, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῇ διανοίᾳ ἡλαττωμένους.

^b T. I. 147.

^c Poverty is not always commendable, but only that which, arising from choice, is made subservient to the gospel end; for many are poor indeed in substance, but most avaricious in their desires. These their penury does not save, but their desires condemn. It is not then the destitute man who is to be esteemed blessed, but he who values more than all the treasures of the world, the command of Christ. Such the Lord himself pronounces blessed, saying, "Blessed are the poor in spirit."

can rightly have the meaning of *voluntarily*. Through a process of derivation, doubtless it may; just as ἐκ καρδίας, *from the heart*, involvesthe idea of *willingness*.^a We might compare the use of ψυχικῶς in 2 Macc. xiv. 22. The idea of *willingness*, however, must still be here but of a secondary kind; the fundamental idea would remain “in such a way as that the spirit has a share in the matter.” There is an ingenious conception of the word formed by Clemens Alexr. in his admirable little book, *Quis dives Salvus?* the object of which is to shew that wealth is in itself an ἀδιάφορον,^b all depending upon whether or not we use it as an organ to do good.^c The able father thence infers, that when Christ blesses the poor in Spirit, he intends such as, be they poor or rich, do *inwardly* sit loose from their property, and consequently in that way are poor;^d to which we should then find an admirable parallel in 1 Cor. vii. 29, “They that have, as though they had not.” Compare Jer. ix. 23, and James i. 9, 10: Καυχᾶσθω δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ταπεινὸς ἐν τῷ ᾧ ᾤψεται αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ πλούσιος

^a The acute Rich. Simon, who, in criticising Augustine’s exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, in his *Histoire des Commentateurs du N. T.*, finds occasion to speak of our text, agrees, contrary to what might have been expected, with the Catholic exposition, and thinks that πνεύματι may well mean *veritablement, de cœur et d’affection*, which virtually amounts to *voluntarily*.

^b s. 15.

^c § 14.

^d Agreeably to this, we must also interpret another darker passage of Clemens, in the 4th Book of the *Stromata*, p. 484, where he says that the beatitude applies to those who, for righteousness’ sake, may be poor, εἴτε πνεύματι εἴτε περιουσία, *either in spirit or in substance*.

ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ. Among modern Catholic interpreters, Kistemacher has taken up the expression in the same sense as Clemens, and appeals to Ps. lxii. 10 ; 1 Cor. vii. 30, 31 ; and so among Protestants, Episcopi, Werenfels, and Mosheim.^a Our reformers, and several other protestant expositors, who equally understand by *πτωχία* *bodily poverty*, take the dative to denote, as usual, the *kind* and *way*, and interpret “*they who in a spiritual manner, i. e. with resignation and patience, are poor.*” Thus the author of the *Recogn. Clem. L. II. c. 28*, Luther, Melancthon, John Gerhard, Calvin and Zwingli.

Equally numerous, however, are they who belong to the second class we have mentioned, and, from a comparison of Isaiah lxvi. 2, understand by poverty *lowliness and humility of spirit*. So Chrysostom and those who have made extracts from him, Origen,^b Macarius,^c Athanasius,^d Augustine, the author of the *Opus Imperfectum*, Erasmus, Piscator, Hunnius, Calov, Spanheim, Knapp, and almost all moderns. These expositors, however, also fall under various subdivisions, inasmuch as some refer the dative, which in this view becomes the dative of *respect*, (for which the Hebrews and Syrians—and

^a That the reference of the words to bodily poverty was widely spread in the fourth century, we may conclude from the scoff of the Emperor Julian, who, in his 43d Letter, says, that his only object in confiscating the property of Christians was, that poverty might confer on them a title to enter the kingdom of Heaven.

^b Hom. 5, in Josuam, Tom. II. ed. de la Rue. ^c Hom. XII.

^d Questiones ad Antiochum. Quest. 91.

sometimes also the Greeks—substitute the genitive) to *the object* in respect of which one is poor; and again by πνεῦμα, understand either *the divine Spirit*, or taking it in malam partem, the *spiritus elatus*, the *ferocia animi*, which is the opinion of Augustine and Erasmus, or even, as Dr. Fritzsche^a at least does, *eruditio et ingenium*, translating: Fortunati homines, ingenio et eruditione parum florentes; whereas the majority refer it to *the subject sensible of poverty*, as in 1 Cor. vii. 34: ἁγία καὶ σώματι καὶ πνεύματι. To express this meaning in the translation, it will be best to say with De Wette, *the poor in spirit*. Luther's rendering *the spiritually poor*, is, for the most part, indeed, understood in the same sense. He did not himself, however, so understand it, but, agreeably to his explanation "they who in a spiritual way are poor." In the Latin, the sense influences the translation, which should differ according as we understand *bodily* or *spiritual* poverty. Strictly speaking, the word ought to be rendered *egeni* or *mendici*. These express πτωχός, whereas πένης corresponds with *pauper*. Πένης is, by the Greek grammarians, derived from πένεσθαι = ἐνεργεῖν, signifying one *who wins his bread by labour*; the former from πτώσσειν πάντα. It is thus that Ammonius states the distinction s. v. πένης, Eustathius ad Od. Σ. pag.

^a This expositor belongs not to those who understand πνεῦμα as the *subject* of poverty; he takes it as the *object* of which one is destitute: Quum nemo τῷ πνεύματι nisi de re qua illi essent destituti, accipere non possit; according to which πνεῦμα at once receives the sense of eruditio.

1833, and the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Plutos*, verse 548. Now, as Catholic interpreters more especially understand the word to mean *monkish poverty*, they necessarily require to translate it *mendici*, which in fact is found in a passage of Tertullian, and in the author of the *Opus Imp.* instead of the *pauperes* of the Vulgate. Taking the expression tropically, we cannot hold fast the distinction between *πένης* and *πτωχός*; the ancients speak of *πτωχία τοῦ νοῦς*, and of a *πενία ψυχική*, and, in general also, the difference was not strictly observed. The LXX. usually render *עני* by *πένης* and *עני* by *πτωχός*, but in this are not uniform. The Clementini, who interpret the word of *bodily poverty*, quote^a *πένητες*, instead of *πτωχοί*.^b Neither in the exposition nor translation, however, can the advocates for the spi-

^a Hom. 16, p. 723, ed. Cot.

^b In Aristophanes' *Plutos*, the distinction betwixt *πένης* and *πτωχός* is expressed in a very glaring manner, where one speaker asks if the *πενία* be not always sister to the *πτωχία*; and another replies, that they perhaps might say so, who discovered a resemblance betwixt the tyrant Dionysius and the foe of tyrants Thrasybulus, v. 550. Nevertheless, however, *πτωχί* and *πένητες* are used indiscriminately by the Scholiast upon v. 594. The translation *Mendici* gives the author of the *Opus Imperfectum* the occasion of an original conception. He proposes to himself the question, why *humiles* is not here used, and answers it as follows: At non solum humiles ostendat sed indigentes humiles, qui sic sunt humiles, ut semper *adjutorium Dei sint mendicantes*. The observation would be perfectly just, if the Greek text, instead of *πτωχός* had that which corresponds with *mendicus*, *πρωταίτης*. This passage, moreover, serves to shew unquestionably that the author of the *Opus Imperfectum* commented upon the Latin text.

ritual sense take the word as equivalent to ταπεινός, which the Greek expositors, led by the etymology of πτήσσω, have done. It denotes *the condition, or feeling of not having what one ought to have*, with which certainly the ταπεινοφροσύνη is always connected; and so is likewise mentioned at verse 5. The positive side of the beatitude then is enunciated in verse 6. As expressive of poverty in spiritual blessings, the word occurs in Rev. iii. 17; πλούσιος means richness in these, in Rev. ii. 9; iii. 17. 2 Cor. viii. 9. Jas. ii. 5, and in the letter of Barnabas, c. 19: ἀπλοῦς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ πλούσιος τῷ πνεύματι, which expression also serves to show that τῇ καρδίᾳ and τῷ πνεύματι are not to be strictly discriminated. Compare likewise Plato, Rep. vii. p. 521, οἱ τῷ ὄντι πλούσιοι, οὐ χρυσοῦ, ἀλλ' οὗ δεῖ τὸν εὐδαίμονα πλουτεῖν, ζωῆς ἀγαθῆς τε καὶ ἔμφορος.

With respect to those expositors who unite the two meanings, it is hard to see by what method they do that; we shall, therefore, notice only the more modern of them, and principally De Wette. This author, as is known, in his Treatise: *Beitrag zur charakteristik des Hebraismus*, in the 3d vol. of the *Studien von Daub und Kreutzer* had propounded his views with respect to the national psalms, and, in connection with these, unfolded the opinion that the אֲבוֹנִים and עֲנִיִּים there mentioned, meant the oppressed and suffering popular party, who, on account of that oppression, were also looked upon as the pious of the nation; so that, in these words, the ideas of *oppressed, humble, pious*, had been transfused into each other. According to the same

opinion, he likewise expounded our text in the *Commentatio de morte Iesu expiatoria*, p. 88.

From what point, then, shall we set out, in order, amidst opinions so various, to gain a firm standing place? The work of exposition necessarily moves in a circle; we cannot comprehend particulars without having a knowledge of the whole, and yet the comprehension of the whole must again commence with the particulars. Having, therefore, already formed that view respecting the temporary intention of the sermon, which we delivered in the introduction to v. 3—12, we approach this saying, with the remembrance upon our minds of similar declarations of Scripture, more especially of Luke iv. 18, where the Saviour's object also is to state comprehensively the nature of his ministry, and with the impression which a previous understanding of the beatitudes that follow produces, and thus feel ourselves compelled, *a priori*, to take *οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι*, as it here stands, in the sense, *who feel themselves poor in their spirit*; that is to say,—if we define more narrowly this poverty—poor in the true knowledge and in the love of what is good, in inward peace, or, according to ver. 6th, poor with respect to *δικαιοσύνη*.

This elucidation is, in every point of view, the most obvious. For, were we to consider the dative as expressive of the object of the poverty, and interpret poor as if it meant *destitute of the Divine Spirit*, the beatitude would not be altogether true, inasmuch as the state of being poor in regard to the Spirit of God, does not deserve to be extolled, but only that of a lively sense of poverty; Although it may cer-

tainly be said, that the words admit of being understood as signifying a *feeling of poverty*, and that, moreover, the mistake of supposing it is the *being poor* per se which here receives the benediction, is guarded against by the following beatitudes, especially that contained in ver. 6th. In point of fact, even when we conceive the dative to indicate the subject, we are no less obliged to translate *they who in their spirit are poor*; though, by this translation it certainly becomes more evident that it is *the sense* of poverty which is meant. We have to add, that this conception of the meaning has the analogy of עני רוח in its favour, where רוח signifies only the human mind. Perhaps, however, there may be some whom this does not satisfy, and who, taking offence at the substantive verb, have recourse to the exposition which understands the poverty as being a poverty of *seeming blessings*. But here we, in the first place, meet the scruple, that then the second beatitude would not be nearly so well connected, inasmuch as it speaks of a mourning, arising doubtless from the want of the true riches already mentioned in the previous one. Besides which, the promise would not correspond with the rest, seeing that all of them offer to those who want, that very thing of which they are in want. In fine, however, I venture to maintain, that on hearing the exclamation, “Blessed are the inwardly poor, for theirs is the heavenly heritage!” it is impossible to think of anything else than *the sense of being poor*; and if that be the case, the poverty must relate to the true riches. Moreover, that the πτωχία here is

spiritual poverty, and not a want of external blessings, results from the progression of the thought up to ver. 5th, which says positively what our verse expresses negatively.

If, then, we thus decidedly explain the words as expressive of spiritual poverty, it only remains to discuss the point, How Luke stands with relation to Matthew? The former, it is maintained, manifestly speaks of the corporeally poor, and so makes Christ say something essentially different from what the latter reports him to have said. Clericus, in particular, looks upon the contradiction as so decided, that he makes it the special ground of the Hermeneutical inference, Not to take the sayings of Christ too strictly. But it is just by taking it up with a greater degree of strictness that the apparent contradiction disappears. That Luke could not mean merely bodily poverty, is obvious from the nature of the promise. Who would ever explain *χορτασθήσεσθε*, "ye shall be satisfied with outward things," or *πεινῶντες*, as signifying hunger after bodily food? The words of Luke would rather lead us to suppose that a reference was intended both to what is outward and to what is inward, at the same time. According to the Divine intention, inward pain and repentance are awakened by outward affliction, and, in experience, it is actually found, that as the night of the ancients was the mother of the gods, so the night of sorrow is what commonly gives birth to religion in the heart. Where seeming blessings abound, and his earthly part receives satisfaction, man becomes proportionally less sensible that the *ἀληθινά*, as Luke

beautifully calls them, xvi. 11, fail, and that he is not *πλουτῶν εἰς Θεόν* (Luke xii. 21.). *Τοῖς γὰρ πλουσίοις*, says the proverb in Plato, *πολλὰ παραμύθια*. Let the Old Testament prophetic rebuke be compared, which James v. 1—5, addresses to the rich. “Ye have nourished your hearts,” says the 5th verse, *i. e.* satisfied your wants with mere seeming blessings. Hence those warnings in Prov. xxiii. 4; xxviii. 11, 20. Ecclesiasticus xiii. 2, 22; xiv. 4. An exemplar of the class, is held up to us in the rich man, Luke xvi., and in him who enlarged his barns. This general observation is confirmed by the clearest evidence at the establishment of the first Christian church, and in the Christian community at all periods; for it has ever been the poor and outwardly oppressed in whom the longing after spiritual salvation soonest awakened (1 Cor. i. 26, James ii. 5.). From this point of view, we may also determine what degree of truth there is in the above quoted observation of De Wette’s, which has, from the time it was broached, been universally embraced, *viz.* that the idea which the Hebrew formed of the poor and oppressed, involved also that of lowliness and piety. The *עניים, אביונים, דלים*, in the Psalms, the prophets, and Job, mean such as are poor, fear God in their poverty, and having become in some degree pious, are, for their piety’s sake, kept in poverty, by powerful and godless oppressors. Hence, though but few of the expositors have marked it, the ideas of outward and of inward poverty, seem to be united in that passage which comes nearest to our text, Luke iv. 18, likewise Luke i. 53,

and Matt. xi. 5.^a That in Luke iv. 18 the *πτωχοί*, as well as in Isaiah lxi. the עניים means not merely the *outwardly poor*, but the *humbled*, is apparent from the supplement τοὺς συντετριμένους τὴν καρδίαν. In the μικροὶ οὐδοί also of Matt. x. 42; xviii. 6, there seems to be a necessity for comprising the inward and outward application. The reverse, however, is the case with 1 Cor. iv. 8, where the κεκορυσμένοι ἐστί is chiefly to be referred to inward fulness, although the external reference is not excluded. The Corinthian church was wealthier than the rest. With their affluence Paul contrasts the outward necessities and meanness of the Apostles, 2 Cor. vi. 10; it is a contrast between spiritual and bodily riches.

From all that has been said, it results, that in reference to this first beatitude, there is no essential distinction between Matthew and Luke. If, however, it be asked, Which apostle has reported the words of Christ with greater correctness; then, from the proof we have given, that Matthew is, in general, the more accurate with respect to the sermon on the Mount, we are led to anticipate that he has here recorded what our Saviour said with greater exactness. This presumption is confirmed, when we consider that it is much easier to conceive how an inaccurate reporter could omit the addition *spiritual*, considering that the terms אביונים and עניים were already

^a Upon this passage Luther wavers. One time he says, "these poor are certainly not the beggars and bodily poor, but the spiritually poor" (Walch xii. 120.). At another, he unites the two applications (Walch xi. 1342.).

quite known and current from the Old Testament, than that another should superadd it. In Matt. xi. 5, Luke iv. 18, nothing has been added to the *πτωχοί*. Nay, when we call to mind the temporary design of our Lord in beginning with these beatitudes, viz. to crush the hopes of external felicity, which was all that the people expected from the Messias, the supplement appears peculiarly necessary.

The promise which is made to the poor in spirit corresponds with the virtue extolled; they obtain the possession of a heavenly kingdom. The *βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ*,—in Matthew always *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*,—is again mentioned in the sequel of the sermon on the Mount, at verses 10, 19, 20; vi. 10; vii. 21. To discuss on all the sides which it presents, an idea so pregnant in meaning as this, calls for a separate work. But as the term here requires no very detailed investigation, we content ourselves with stating the leading traits; nor can we refer to any book, where the subject is handled in a manner in every respect satisfactory. Fleck has amassed a variety of materials, it is true, but with great prolixity he mixes what is foreign, and is deficient in the talent for combination and arrangement. If C. Gottfried Bauer had executed the whole plan, of which he followed the commencement in the Essay, *De Causis quibus nititur rectum super ratione Regni Divini in N. T. passim obvia judicium*,^a something certainly might have

^a *Commentationes Theol. ed. Rosenmüller and Maurer, i. p. 2.*

been expected ; at least no modern author who has handled the subject, has equally weighed it on all sides. Much excellent matter is also contained in the Treatise of Sartorius, Ueber den Zweck Iesu bei Stiftung eines Gottes-Reiches. Amidst all that the doctrinal works of modern times have said upon the subject, the hints thrown out in Baumgarten Crusius' *Biblischer Theologie*, p. 149—157, seem to me to merit particular consideration. For the most part, writers have been taken up with pointing out the connection of the New Testament doctrine with that of the Rabbins, which, however, is, at all events, a task of less consequence, the moment it is conceded that the Saviour connected with the expression, different ideas from theirs.

Two kinds of defect are to be found in the usual treatment of this doctrine. At one time the different *sides* and *allusions* of the βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ are ranged together as diverse *significations* of the phrase, without any attempt to show their identity, by discovering the fundamental idea ; and, at another, what is still worse, *one single aspect of the idea* is exclusively seized, and all the rest disregarded. To mention an ancient commentator, the first defect is exemplified in Euthymius, who, upon Matt. iii. 2, after having previously said that Christ himself is here called the βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, remarks : ἡ βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν λέγει τὴν πολιτείαν τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἣν ὁ Χριστὸς ὅσον οὐπω νομοθετεῖν ἔμελλε διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν ἐντολῶν. λέγετα δὲ βασιλεία οὐρανῶν καὶ ἡ ἀπόλαυσις τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀγαθῶν. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα τὸ ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας τῶν

οὐρανῶν, πολυσήμαντον ὄν, ὡς προϊόντες εὐρήσομεν.^a From the expositors of the middle period, we may here quote the note of Zwingli upon John iii. 3: *Capitur hic regnum Dei pro doctrina cœlesti et predicatione Evangelii, ut Lucæ xviii. Capitur aliquando pro vitâ æterna, Matt. xxv. Luc. xiv. Quandoque pro Ecclesia et congregatione fidelium, ut Matt. xiii. 24.* Even the later lexicographers Schleusner and Bretschneider, however, have not advanced beyond these indefinite statements; and the article on the subject by the latter is particularly defective. He sets out with the Rabbinical idea, which he also finds in the New Testament, and enumerates a vast number of texts, from which it is impossible to make out *in what sense the term is used!* Matt. iv. 17; v. 10; xix. 23; vii. 21; xvi. 19, 28; xviii. 3, 4, 23; xii. 28, et passim. He farther states the meaning, *Felicitas Christianorum post resurrectionem*, and then, with a *cæterum*, the very diverse meanings of, *res Christiana, vocatio ad regnum Christi, Christus ipse, nuntii Regni divini.* How the word comes to have all these significations he does not explain.^b Wahl is much more correct, when he com-

^a Or by the kingdom of heaven he means the commonwealth of the angels, which Christ was about to rule, as never was done before, by gospel precepts. The fruition of celestial blessings is also called the kingdom of heaven; and many other things besides does this name, the kingdom of heaven, imply; for it is very significant, as we shall find in the sequel.

^b Both Bretschneider and Schleusner seem to have entertained the idea, that Christ merely employed the expression by way of accommodation. But so to disregard how much it comprises, is a crying injustice, of which Semler was first guilty, and against which Baumgarten Crusius rightly says, (*Bibl. Theol. s. 152*) “It was no mere accommodation, but

prises all the significations of the word in the following formula : Felicitas nunc et olim per Iesum obtinenda. But although the unity of the idea is thus preserved, the particular sense of βασιλεία is lost. The second of the faults we mentioned, which consists in giving undue prominence to one side of the subject, and neglecting the rest, appears, to cite examples, in the Treatises of Koppe and Keil, according to whom the word only refers to the future kingdom of the Messias, which has still to be erected ; in Storr, who says, it is to be understood solely of the reign of the glorified Christ ; and in Teller, who makes it the constitution of the Christian religion. In explaining this name, we shall begin with βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, by which the variations βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, and βασιλεία τοῦ Χριστοῦ will also be explained. According to my view, none have brought forward the fundamental notion more correctly than Origen among the ancients, and Calvin among the reformers. The particular aspect of the idea which the several fathers of the church seized and stated, can be best seen in their explanations of the second petition of the Lord's Prayer ; Augustine especially develops the subject with great depth and fulness. Most of them understand by it *the kingdom of glory, the future revelation of Christ*. Origen alone (in the book

the one only term suitable for the thing and system in question." The Wolfenbüttel fragments, however, have treated the expression worst of all, and audaciously assert, that Jesus used it in no other sense than the ambitious Jews, and thereby betrayed his own aspiring designs.

περὶ εὐχῆς) endeavours more specifically to unfold the idea of βασιλεία : δηλοῖ ὅτι ὁ εὐχόμενος ἐλθεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, περὶ τοῦ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι καὶ καρποφορῆσαι καὶ τελειωθῆναι, εὐλόγως εὔχεται. παντὸς μὲν ἀγίου ὑπὸ Θεοῦ βασιλευμένου καὶ τοῖς πνευματικοῖς νόμοις τοῦ Θεοῦ πειθομένου, οἷον εἰς εὐνομουμένην πόλιν οἰκοῦντος ἑαυτοῦ παρόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ συμβουλεύοντος τῷ πατρὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ τετελειωμένῃ ψυχῇ κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, οὗ πρὸς βραχέος ἐμνημόνευον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλευσόμεθα καὶ μονὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ποιησόμεθα.^a

After some intermediate illustrations, he proceeds : The more the hallowing of God's name takes place, the more also will his kingdom come, and that be fulfilled which is written, 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10 ; and then he adds, Τῇ οὖν ἐν ἡμῶν βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ ἀκρότης ἀδιαλείπτως προκόπτουσιν ἐνστήσεται, ὅταν πληρωθῇ τὸ παρὰ τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ εἰρημένον, ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς, πάντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑποταγέντων, παραδώσει τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, ἵνα ἢ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι.^b With these admirable

^a It is clear, that whoever prays for the kingdom of God to come, prays by due inference for that kingdom to be set up, and bear fruit, and reach perfection in himself : Inasmuch as every saint who is under the dominion of God, and obeys his spiritual laws, dwells, as it were, in the well governed city of himself, the father being present with him, and Christ giving counsel with the Father in the perfect soul, according to that text, of which, for brevity, I cite, " We will come unto him and make our abode with him."

^b For those who incessantly advance, the consummation of the kingdom of God within us shall commence when that saying of the Apostle's has been fulfilled, That Christ, having put all enemies under his feet, shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father, that God may be all in all.

words let the reader compare what he says upon the same subject in another place, Hom. xiv. in Matt.,^a where he calls Christ in his own person, viewing him as the principle by which sin is to be vanquished, the βασιλεία; for of the βασιλεία in our text, he says, That properly it is Christ himself who is promised to the poor as the αὐτοβασιλεία. In accordance with these views of the ancient fathers, Calvin, in the Commentary to his Harmony upon Matt. vi. 10, has the following words: Regnare enim dicitur Deus inter homines, quum carne suâ sub jugum redactâ et suis cupiditatibus valere jussis illi se regendos ultro addicunt et tradunt. Quare summa hujus pre- cationis est, ut Deus verbi sui luce mundum irradiet, Spiritus sui afflatu corda formet in obsequium justitiæ suæ, quicquid est dissipatum in terra suis auspiciis in ordinem restituat, exordium vero regnandi faciat a subigendis carnis nostræ cupiditatibus. Jam vero, quia regnum Dei, per continuos progressus augetur usque ad mundi finem, necesse est quotidie optare ejus adventum. With this is to be compared his comment upon Matt. iii. 2, and John iii. 3, where, among other things, he says: Falluntur qui regnum Dei pro cœlo accipiunt, cum potius spiritualem vitam significet, quæ fide in hoc mundo inchoatur, magisque in dies adolescit, secundum assiduos fidei progressus. What Calvin, guided by a systematic consideration of texts of Scripture, here expresses, Luther, following the dictates of his pious heart, handles in the beautiful sermon, *On the Kingdom of*

^a Ed. de la Rue, T. iii. p. 929.

God, of the year 1524,^a with which we may compare his exposition of the eighth Psalm, § 22, 23.^b We lay down accordingly, as the fundamental notion of the kingdom of God : *A community in which God reigns, and which, as the nature of a right government involves, obeys him not by constraint, but from free will and affection ; of which it follows as a necessary consequence, that the parties are intimately bound to each other in the mutual interchange of offices of love.* To establish a community of this kind, was the purpose for which the Saviour appeared upon the earth, and forasmuch as it can only exist in perfection after the defeat of all his enemies, 1 Cor. xv. 28 ; Heb. x. 13, the chief seat of this kingdom of Christ is, doubtless, in the world to come ; and it is a gross error, when Usteri, in the 4th edition of his *Paulinischer Lehrbegriff*,^c follows Rosenkranz, and would persuade us, that the kingdom of Christ belongs *only* to the world that now is. The prophets, whose glance, it is true, took in the whole extent of the Messiah's kingdom, but was chiefly fixed upon the period of its completion, were thereby led to place it at the end of time, and, in like manner, most of the texts of the New Testament promise it as something beyond the grave. See this done, for example, by the Evangelists, Matt. xiii. 43 ; xxv. 34 ; xxvi. 29 ; Mark ix. 47 ; Luke xiii. 29 ; and equally so, though many call this in-to question, by the Apostles, 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10 ; Gal. v. 21 ; Eph. v. 5. ; 1 Cor. xv. 50 ; 2 Thess. i. 5 ;

^a Walch, Vol. xii. p. 1938.

^b Walch, Vol. v. p. 294.

^c P. 371.

2 Tim. iv. 1, 18; 2 Pet. i. 11; Acts xiv. 22. Those expositors, accordingly, who, like Koppe and Keil, understood by the βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, Christ's kingdom in the world to come, take what is certainly a partial view; still, however, they have more truth on their side than their opponents. But it was a very awkward evasion of the contrary texts to which they had recourse, when they, moreover, added that "sometimes the term likewise denotes the institutions preparatory to God's kingdom in the world to come, and expounded such passages as Mark xii. 34 as follows: 'Thou art upon the right way to the kingdom of God hereafter.'" They would have done much better to allow that the βασιλεία is unquestionably represented in the New Testament as already come, although but in its commencement. The kingdom of God hereafter has in fact become existent in time, by the appearance in human nature of him, who could say of himself, "I always do the things that please the Father." He who is the king is likewise the first citizen of the kingdom of God; and if we interpret the ἐντός in the text Luke xvii. 21, *among*, which is the right way, then Christ himself declares, that with his person God's kingdom in eternity first became a kingdom in time. He commands us, moreover, daily to pray that his kingdom may come; and the more that that life which is in him is diffused among mankind, the more do they cease to be disobedient subjects of God. As now present, the kingdom of God is represented in Matt. xi. 12; xii. 28; xvi. 9; Mark xii. 34; Luke xvi. 16; xvii. 20; and in the Epistles, Rom. xiv. 17; 1 Cor. iv. 20; Col. i. 13; iv. 11; Heb. xii. 28.

Now, when we consider that thus both the first Gospels and Paul represent the kingdom of God as future, and yet at the same time speak of it as having already come, we perceive a remarkable point of coincidence between them and John, with respect to the doctrine which has ever been regarded as peculiar to that Apostle; viz. That life eternal commences here in time.^a

After thus defining the βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, we learn how the βασιλεία τοῦ Χριστοῦ and the βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν in Matthew are to be explained. The kingdom of Christ denotes just the reign of God, conceived as carried on through the mediation of Christ.^b Hence the more power God acquires over us, and the more we become his children, the more does the Son deliver up the kingdom to the Father, until that full delivery, whereof St. Paul speaks, 1 Cor. xv. 28, upon which all mediatorship shall cease. Οὐρανοί is not, according to the rabbinical usus loquendi, synonymous with *God*,^c but denotes the world that lies beyond, and is elevated above, the present sphere of time and sense. Some passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews are explana-

^a The two passages in which this Evangelist mentions the βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, iii. 3; xviii. 36, have been usually referred to the life hereafter, but unjustly; the latter merely affirms that the dominion of Christ did not take its rise from the relations of the present life—οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου—and hence is not in its appearance like an earthly government. Luke xvii. 20, is a parallel.

^b J. Gerhard's Loci Theologici, Tom. xx. p. 122, 123.

^c Baumgarten Crusius, Bibl. Theologie, p. 151.

tory of this, particularly c. xii., and the expression of St. Paul, ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ.

In order fully to elucidate the idea, we should now necessarily require to enter upon a similar consideration of the terms which are in various respects analogous: αἰῶν μέλλων, οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα, ἐκκλησία. This, however, would carry us too far.

If, after this detail, we turn to the passages in the sermon on the Mount where the term is used, we find vers. 3, 10, 19, and even vi. 10, brought forward by one class of doctrinal and exegetical writers in proof that it signifies the kingdom of Christ *upon earth*, while the rest quote passages to prove the reverse, and moreover derive more special support for their opinion from vii. 21. This twofold view is quite natural, inasmuch as, in point of fact, the former texts involve an allusion to the kingdom of God *upon earth* as well as to that *in heaven*, although certainly regard is principally had to the period of completion, and hence to the kingdom of God hereafter; which, at verse 12th, may be concluded, both from the subject matter, and also from the ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. The same double import occurs, as we shall afterwards find, in the other promises. That the kingdom hereafter is exclusively meant, at vii. 21, might be inferred, were it from nothing more than from the mention made of the judgment which is to take place at the end, and is clear, besides, from the ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ of v. 22, which also stands in Luke vi. 23; χαίρετε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. ἰδοὺ γὰρ κτλ.

V. 4. In regard to this second beatitude, as well

as the first, expositors have separated into three classes, according as they referred the mourning either to *temporal* or to *spiritual* distress, or endeavoured to unite the two applications. Before stating the several views of the interpreters, let it be observed, that *πενθεῖν*, frequently joined with *κλαίειν*, Mark xvi. 10; Jas. iv. 9; Rev. xviii. 11, 15, 19, and more forcible than *λυπεῖσθαι*, (Chrysostom: *τοὺς μετ' ἐπιτάσεως λυπουμένουσ*) expresses not merely the *dolere*, *angere*, but the *mærere*, *lugere*, the outward appearing, or expression of inward sorrow, and is principally used of the *καρίναι* at funerals. In Is. iv. 6 if the *χαρά* stand opposed to the *κατήφεια*, so, on the other hand, does *πένθος* to the loud *γέλωσ*. The Vulgate well translates: *lugent*; and Luther, explaining it of outward affliction, “*die da Leid tragen.*”

The same expositors, whom we formerly found defending the reference of *πτωχεία* to bodily poverty, also understand *πενθεῖν* to signify complaint at *afflictions*; so Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Grotius, Maldonatus, Wetstein, Gratz, and Paulus. Nay, some of them, as, for example, Gratz, refer the words merely to the political oppression of the Israelites at the time of our Saviour, with which as a consolatory contrast, the Messiah's reign, when, according to Luke, i. 71, all the foes of Judea would be subdued, is here set up. They thereby, however, place Jesus precisely on the level of an ordinary Jew. Others, on the contrary, connect with it a religious consideration, and call to remembrance either the temporal losses, in which many were involved by conversion to Christianity, or the calamities in gene-

ral to which the believer, for the sake of his faith, was subjected. But in that case, it is difficult to perceive what can be the difference between this beatitude and v. 11. By far the greater number, however, both in ancient and modern times, acknowledge the predominant or exclusive reference to sorrow on account of *sin*, whether our own or that of others. So Chrysostom, Basil, Ambrose, Hilary, Jerome, Bucer, Calov, Hunnius, Künoel, and many besides. Zwingli, Pellicanus, and some more, unite both senses, by appealing to the fact, that affliction is the school in which man learns to reflect seriously upon himself and his moral character.

From the connection in which Christ here speaks upon the subject, we necessarily require to understand, not only, in general, sorrow of a pious nature, and whose direction is towards God, but more especially such as is connected with the desire after righteousness, mentioned v. 6th, and so, as in the case of the *κοπιῶντες*, Matt. xi. 28, we have to think principally of those who are oppressed with the sense of their spiritual poverty. Inasmuch, however, as the remark we already made concerning poverty, holds equally true of affliction, viz. that it awakens religious seriousness, and leads to self-knowledge and repentance, 2 Cor. vii. 10, on which account the proverbial wisdom of the Hebrews recommended rather to go to the house of mourning than to the house of mirth, Eccles. vii. 3, 4, there is no reason why we should not regard these *πενθοῦντες* as outward sufferers, provided always that their *λύπη* is a *λύπη κατὰ Θεόν*. As v. 3d was a touch upon Is. lxi. 1, so

Beza maintains is the present upon Is. lvii. 18. But it is much more a variation upon the second verse of the former chapter. We cannot, however, draw any conclusion with respect to the import of the word in the text before us from that of the prophet, for here, as in Luke iv. 18, and at many other places, our Saviour views those passages from the Old Testament which he adopts into his discourse, in their general sense.

With respect to the promised comfort, we first observe, that as in so many other instances, it is not merely of a verbal, but, on the contrary, of a substantial nature. (Luke vi. 24. Ecclesiasticus vi. 16; xxvi. 4.) Wherein then does it consist?

According as he stood at a higher or lower degree in the scale of religious knowledge, the word would remind the Israelite of all the glorious things he expected from the Messiah's reign. The declarations in the last part of Isaiah, which treat of the consolation of Israel, when understood in their most profound sense, were properly applied to what the Messiah was to accomplish. Nay, according to Is. xl. 1; lxvi. 11, and to the text which Christ here touches, lxi. 2, the Messiah himself and his kingdom, are expressly called *ἡ παράκλησις τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*. (Luke ii. 25; the Targum of Is. iv. 3; xxxiii. 20. Jer. xxxi. 6. Compare Buxtorf Lex Talm. s. v. *המחמ*). Among the Rabbins *מנחם* is a name of the Messiah which frequently occurs. See Lightfoot on John xiv. 16. Now, just as we before remarked of *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*, that it comprehends whatever falls, either on this or the other side of the grave, to the lot of the Christian in the commonwealth founded by Christ, so in like manner,

does the promise before us include all in the shape of *παράκλησις*, which, by a participation in his kingdom, both here (2 Cor. i. 3,) and hereafter, (2 Thess. ii. 16. Rev. xxi. 4,) he bestows upon his own. Of this *παράκλησις* the pious Simeon enjoyed the first fruits when, after protracted desire, beholding the Messiah, he exclaims, Luke ii. 29: *Νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ.*

V. 5. The word *Πραῦς* in this beatitude, taken in the common classical sense, as the reverse of *ὀργίλος*, *θυμοειδής*, denotes a quality which, in the New Testament, is specially required of the disciples of Christ. In this very sermon, many of the sayings are directed against the passion of anger, v. 22—26, 43—45; vi. 12, and others, and in Matt. xi. 29, the Saviour proposes himself to his adherents, as a pattern of *πραότης*. Translators, accordingly, have all, with scarce an exception, rendered *οἱ πραεῖς* by mites, mansueti, and expositors have regarded the words as the eulogy of a distinguished and peculiarly amiable Christian virtue; instead of which, however, Christ might have here mentioned any other, as, for instance, chastity and benevolence. Those only who lay peculiar stress upon the local reference of the words, recognise the necessity there was for giving prominence to the virtue of meekness, it being our Saviour's intention to suppress in his followers, every disposition to revolt.

We have first to clear up the idea of *πραῦς*. It answers in general to the Hebrew *יָנֹחַ*, and more especially in this passage, considering that the words are borrowed from Ps. xxxvii. 11, where the LXX. translate *οἱ πραεῖς*. Our lexicographers, Gesenius

and Winer, following the Masorites, who in some passages, substitute עניים for עניים and again עניים for עניים, suppose that both terms mean *miserable, suffering and meek, humble*. Hengstenberg on the contrary, at Zechar. ix. 9, maintains that only ענו signifies *meek, humble*, and only עני *suffering, wretched*. And, doubtless, upon a narrow examination of the passages, it appears that from the root ענה *to bend*, the figurative sense of *outward lowliness* has past exclusively upon עני, and the spiritual sense of *humility* and *gentleness*, principally at least upon ענו. Even among the Rabbins, the two senses are kept distinctly apart in the words עניא and ענון; although, according to what we observed above, as to the manner in which the Hebrew viewed poverty and suffering, gentleness and humility must often be coupled with עני as a notio adjuncta, and with ענו, the manifestation of humility, viz. *external lowliness*. The word ענו then denotes primarily the virtue of gentleness and humility, which, in the Hebrew's view, coincided, so as frequently to take in the idea of suffering, and hence we will best comprehend all that entered into his conception of it, by the term *the bowed down*. This same more comprehensive notion of πραύς may also be deduced from the New Testament. Not only does the πραύτης appear to be intimately connected with the ταπεινοφροσύνη, Matt. xi. 29; Eph. iv. 2; 2 Cor. x. 1, which affords an inference as to the relationship of the two, but even in the πραύτης itself, we have to conceive humility involved. Among the Apostles, James is peculiarly rich in recommendations of πραύτης, by which he understands, as is evident, that

ἐπεικειά, in which meekness and humility beautifully coalesce, and mutually suppose each other. We may perceive, even from the admirable description which he gives in chap. iii. 13—17, of the heavenly wisdom, how in his idea of the true disciple of Christ, love, compassion, meekness, and humility, mingle intimately together. When at iii. 13, he opposes to *πραύτης*, *ζήλος* and *ἐριθεία*, and i. 21, exhorts to receive the Christian truth, ἐν *πραύτητι*, he contends equally against pride and darkness, as against animosity, for what but darkness had that contentiousness which he attacks for its foundation? When Peter, in his first Epistle iii. 4, requires of Christian women the *πνεῦμα πραύ και ἡσύχιον*, he means thereby, that mild unpretending spirit which seeks not distinction. In Psalm xxxvii. 11, we have also to understand by *πραεῖς*, persons bowed down, and in whom humility and mildness are united. The sufferers there are gentle and humble-minded saints, who, because they are so, are made the objects of scorn, and whom men deem they may scorn with impunity, Ps. iv. 3; ix. 19, 20; xiii. 4, 5. The consciousness of spiritual poverty, depression of mind and sorrow on account of sin, superinduce such dispositions of gentleness and humility, which often expose the godly to the pride and violence of the world. Such are the *πραεῖς* in our text.^a

Here, likewise, the promise corresponds with the

^a Clemens Alex. Strom. l. 4, p. 488, warns against supposing that every kind of natural gentleness is meant, and makes it only that which is the offspring of religion: *πραεῖς δὲ τοὺς κατὰ προαίρεσιν, οὐ τοὺς κατ' ἀνάγκην, ἐπαινεῖ.*

beatitude: It is just to those meek and unresisting souls, that *the occupation of the earth*^a is held out. The occasional scope, which we have already discovered in the two foregoing beatitudes, comes into still stronger light in the present; for, what could be better calculated than these words, to crush all carnal and revolutionary hopes? The reigning principle of the world is that which Tacitus puts into the mouth of the seditious Britons: *Nihil profici patientia, nisi ut graviora tanquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur.* But, in the views of life which Christ inculcates, the maxim is, *οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν.* The *πραεῖς* are those, who, as Augustine after Rom. xii. 21, says: *Vincunt per bonum malum.*

We have now, however, to illustrate more particularly the formula *κληρονομεῖν τὴν γῆν*, and shall first state the manifold modifications of sense, which the various expositors have hitherto assigned to it. In this third instance, they may again be divided into three classes; Those who refer the promise to something *celestial*, those who refer it to something *terrestrial*, and those who include both. In the ancient church, we find in none but Chrysostom, and his adherents Theophylact and Euthymius, the application of it to the goods of this world, which are elsewhere, Matt. xix. 29. Mark x. 29, likewise promised by Christ to those followers who have sacrificed their property for his sake. True it is, that godliness, as

^a *Κληρονομεῖν* does not denote every kind of *taking possession*, but as that by inheritance is the surest of all, a *firm occupation*.

Paul tells us, has the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come, 1 Tim. iv. 8, and whosoever seeks first the kingdom of God, shall receive everything else to boot, Matt. vi. 33. In this view, our Saviour, anticipating the question of his disciples, Behold we have forsaken all; what shall we have therefore? here gives the same kind of answer as at Matt. xix. 28, 29.

By far the greater number of ancient interpreters, however, belong to the second class, viz. those who consider the subject of the promise to be heavenly blessings. Even Chrysostom mentions, that several understand by $\gamma\tilde{\eta}$ the $\gamma\tilde{\eta}$ νοητή, and so, in fact, explain it, with a reference, for the most part, to Ps. xxvii. 13; cxlii. 5. So Origen (in his Commentary upon Jer. xi. 2, with which he parallelizes our text), Gregory of Nyssa, Basil,^a Macarius, Jerome, Augustine and others. Of these there are some who take $\gamma\tilde{\eta}$ as a direct symbolical designation of heaven; others, as marking a particular place in the celestial regions, which Gregory of Nyssa loses himself in describing.

Among modern expositors also, part refer the promise to earthly, and part to heavenly blessings. Of the former, we may name Luther, Melancthon, Beza, Grotius, Hunnius, Hammond, Stolz and Paulus. The

^a Basil, Hom. in Psalm xxxiii. says in reference to this passage: *ἐκείνη γὰρ ἡ $\gamma\tilde{\eta}$, ἡ ἐπουράνιος Ἱερουσαλήμ, οὐ γίνεται τῶν μαχομένων λάφυρον, ἀλλὰ μακροθύμων καὶ πραϋπαθῶν ἀνδρῶν πρόκειται κληρονομία.* For that earth, the heavenly Jerusalem, is not given as a prize to those who fight, but is proposed as an inheritance for patient and meek sufferers.

explanations of these divines, however, have each a peculiar character, according as they prove that, and represent how, the promise is realized. The most meagre of all views is that of those who, after Grotius, make the fulfilment of Christ's words consist in the friendships which the meek secure; just as one might say in English, *He wins the whole world*. Others, as Hammond, appeal to the fact, that, in general, the meek do not fall into disputes, and so remain in possession of what they have. While others say, that the *πραεῖς*, raised above every worldly strife, keep their heart in such a frame, as if all the blessings of the earth were theirs. Luther and Melancthon, urge in particular, that the magistracy ordained by God, 'for the terror of the evil doer, will bring to pass that in the end, justice shall be done to suffering innocence. "Behold how Christ here censures such foolish Christians as fancy that every man is lord in the world, and has a right not to be touched, but is at liberty to clamour and fight and keep his own.—God will certainly see to it, that his word and ordinance shall remain, and thou, according to this promise, possess the land." Understood in this sense, and viewed with reference to ver. 39, the words would contain consolation for such oppressed persons as, without reserve, comply with that precept of the Lord. Clericus gives them an entirely local reference. He imagines, that with an eye to the peaceably disposed Christians, who at the time Judea revolted against the Romans, would refuse to take arms with their countrymen, our Saviour here says: *Felices judicandi mansueti, quia mansuetudine sua grati erunt rerum potentibus, nec*

solum vertere cogentur, ut (alii) qui sunt indolis ferocioris.

On the other hand, the promise has been referred to blessings of a heavenly kind by Zwingli, Maldonatus, Calov, Vitringa, Wetstein, Kistemacher, and others. The earth, in the text Ps. xxxvii. 11, means, they say, *Canaan*; but Canaan, taken as it elsewhere is, Heb. iv. for a type of the regnum gloriæ, Christ's kingdom hereafter; As Wetstein holds our Saviour has mystically interpreted the Psalm. With this Vitringa's view best corresponds. He brings into connection with our text Daniel's description of the kingdom of God, the *καίροι ἀναψύξεως*, of Acts iii. 19, and 1 Cor. vi. 2, and refers the words to that spiritual millennium, which is to precede the last judgment. From Vitringa, Hetzel differs somewhat; he translates: "They acquire the rights of God's people," thus understanding the full Old Testament expression, in the more comprehensive sense, "they shall be constituted the people of God," and conceiving it applied thus comprehensively, and in its loftiest sense, to the members of the New Testament kingdom. Many, to say the truth most, unite the two references, the one to the good things of the present life, and the other to those of the life hereafter, and, in so doing, several take the expression in the light of a proverb, or synecdoche, as if participation in various kinds of blessings was comprehended under the image of *the possession of their land*, after that image had once become endeared to the Hebrews. To this class belong Erasmus, Calvin, Piscator, Spanheim, Chemnitz, Glassius, Bengel, Kuinöl and others. Erasmus in his paraphrase, and in the self same

way, Glassius, conjoins a great number of meanings, forming, as it were, different degrees of the general one: *Sed hæc est nova dilatandæ possessionis ratio, ut plus impetret ab ultro largientibus mansuetudo, quam per fas nefasque paret aliorum rapacitas. Placidus autem, qui mavult sua cedere quam pro his digladiari, tot locis habet fundum, quot locis reperit amantes evangelicæ mansuetudinis. Invisa est omnibus pervicacia, mansuetudini favent et Ethnici. Postremo si perit possessio miti, damnum non est, sed ingens lacrum ; Perit ager sed incolumi tranquillitate animi. Postremo, ut omnibus excludatur mitis, tanto certior est illi cœlestis terræ possessio, unde depelli non poterit. Profound is the conception which Bengel and Calvin form of the words. "In the end," says the former, "humble sufferers shall obtain the earth for their inheritance, and, in the meanwhile, they are victorious over it even in defeat ; for all things are subservient to their good, and the whole course of the world has their triumph and exaltation in view." Calvin points to the penal justice of God, which manifests itself in the conduct of human affairs, and to which the meek and humble Christian may commit his cause, the cause of oppressed innocence ; at the same time, however, he also opens up, as a background to the promise, the prospect of the final judgment. His words are beautiful : *Non aliter se tutos fore confidunt filii hujus seculi, quam si acriter quicquid illatum fuerit mali vindicent, atque ita manu et armis vitam suam tueantur. At vero quum statuendum sit, Christum unicum esse vitæ nostræ custodem, nihil aliud restat, nisi ut lateamus sub umbra alarum ejus.**

We shall immediately see that this way of understanding the words is the most proper ; but must previously take notice of a very ingenious explanation which was first broached by Cocceius and Heidegger, and which, at a later period, as it appears, suggested itself afresh to the mind of Heumann, to whom Michaelis adheres. It makes the promise refer to the present life, but yet regards spiritual blessings as its subject ; and, on that account, may be included in the third class of expositions which conjoins the two senses. Cocceius has laid it down in his Commentary upon Matthew, Heidegger, in his Exercitationes, and Heumann, in the Poecile, sive Epistolæ Miscellanæ, P. iii. p. 376. This explanation proceeds upon the blessing promised to Abraham, and especially upon the manner in which Paul speaks of it in Rom. iv. 13. It is there mentioned that God promised to Abraham, that his seed should be κληρονόμος τοῦ κόσμου. Now, says Heumann, forasmuch as this signifies the spread of the religion of Abraham's posterity over the entire globe, and its adoption by all nations, it affords this very natural exposition of our text: "The humble followers of Christ should not despair; the day is coming when their cause shall triumph, so that the religion they profess shall be extended over the whole world."

In the view we ourselves take of the Saviour's declaration, we set out from the text of the Old Testament, which forms the basis of it. It has been already observed, that the Old Testament sayings, which the Saviour adopts into his discourses, are frequently applied and expounded by him, in a deeper sense than that in

which they were at first pronounced. In this way, he here imparts to the expression of the Psalmist, Ps. xxxvii. 11, a far more profound and comprehensive import, than David himself might have connected with it. The original words are עֲנוּיִם יִירוּשָׁאֲרָץ, and at v. 29th, צְדִיקִים יִירוּשָׁאֲרָץ וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ לְעַד עָלֶיהָ. Compare ver. 9—29, and even Ps. xxv. 13. In anti-thesis to this promise, it is said of the מְרַעִים, verses 9, 10, 22, that they shall be cut off from their place. Compare, especially verses 34—37. In like manner, in Prov. ii. 21, 22, the LXX. say: ὅτι εὐθεῖς κατασκηνώσουσι γῆν, καὶ ὅσοι ὑπολειφθήσονται ἐν αὐτῇ· ὁδοὶ ἀσεβῶν ἐκ γῆς ὀλοῦνται, οἱ δὲ παράνομοι ἐξωσθήσονται ἀπ' αὐτῆς. At the foundation of all these and similar texts, lies the idea of a retribution: Sooner or later will divine justice, which rules the world, manifest itself in the triumph and exaltation of suffering innocence, and bring about the destruction of the ungodly. Now, it may be assumed with certainty, that the word אֲרָץ, in such passages, does not mean the earth in general, but specially Palestine, the land of promise; for יִרְשָׁ אֲרָץ is just the oft recurring formulá in which the possession of Canaan was promised to the Hebrews in the desert. The Psalmist accordingly anticipates from the future, that the promise vouchsafed to God's people shall at last be fulfilled in their favour; and that in the end they, and they only, shall take possession of the hallowed soil. But this is precisely what the Jews expected from the Messiah, viz. That one day the just alone should inhabit the Holy Land, Is. lx. 21; lxii. 12. We thus derive as a back-ground

to the universal hope of a manifestation of the divine justice, the specific prospect of its most glorious display in the Messiah's kingdom. In these anticipations, both of the Psalmist and the prophet, the irreligious will see only a pious delusion; But if we contemplate them from the point of view which the Christian revelation affords, they appear thoroughly substantial. For, in the first place, the Christian is persuaded that through the whole of history, divine justice manifests itself in the triumph of the innocent sufferer. How should not he feel persuaded of this, when even Æsop returns to the question of Chilon, What is God's occupation? the pertinent answer, "He is humbling the lofty, and exalting the humble," a saying which the sceptic Bayle calls an *Abrégé de l'histoire humaine*, affirming that a whole book might be written, *de centro oscillationis moralis*? "That the world's history is the world's judgment," is a maxim which, among us, has become almost trite. Who would venture to assert, however, that divine justice decides all cases, and in all cases assigns the victory to the *πρᾶξις*? Sometimes only, as Bacon says, does Nemesis write her warning upon the great highway of humanity, in such visible characters, as that all who pass must read. Hence history is, doubtless, *a* but it is not *the* judgment of the world; and what the stream of time sweeps along undecided and unredressed, it wafts towards the ocean of eternity, that it may be redressed there. Thus it is as Calvin, even in his time, profoundly hinted, that the last general judgment forms the perspective to

all the divine judgments in time. But of this judgment what, according to the Christian revelation, shall be the issue? It will bring about the grand separation of the children of the kingdom from those who shall be cast out. The theatre upon which they have hitherto lived indiscriminately together, is changed. The earth, at present subjected, like its inhabitant, to the curse, participates in the glorification of the children of God, Rom. viii. 21. A new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, comes into existence, 2 Pet. iii. 13. There the heavenly Jerusalem, the tabernacle of God, is erected among men, Rev. xxi. 1—3. Then shall those righteous sufferers take possession of the kingdom prepared for them by the Father from the foundation of the world. As they have suffered with the Son, they shall also reign with him, Mat. xxv. 34; 2 Tim. ii. 12; Rev. iii. 21. Such is the final upshot of that retribution which pervades the whole history of the world. Such is also the last and deepest sense of the promise whose explanation we are seeking.

V. 6. The preceding sayings of our Saviour have expressed the character of the genuine subjects of God's kingdom, from what is its negative side. Now follows the positive definition; Their want, their poverty, their desire, have for object, *righteousness*. There is here an allusion to Isaiah lv. 1. *Thirst*, especially among the inhabitants of the East, where there is a scarcity of water, is the most significant image of desire, (Amos viii. 11; Psalms xlii. 1; Isaiah lxxv. 13; John vi. 35, vii. 37.) To strengthen the thought, *hunger* is annexed (John iv. 34). Verbs signifying

hunger and thirst, resting upon the idea of participation, have usually the genitive, but there are several instances even in Josephus and the classics, of their taking the accusative; see Kypke a. h. l.^a Δικαιοσύνη must neither be too greatly narrowed in the interpretation, nor yet too much generalized. It is neither to be taken as the abstract for the concrete, and made equivalent to ὁ δικαίων, sc. Christ. (1 Cor. i. 30,) which Hilary did altogether, and Calov almost; nor yet explained as signifying ὁδὸς δικαιοσύνης, *doctrina obedientiæ a Deo requisitæ*, which is Grotius' opinion, or *vera religio, i. e. religio Christiana*, which is Kuinöl's; still less, as synonymous with ἐλεημοσύνη, which Chrysostom and Euthymius would have. It has here the general signification of νόμιμον, given to it by Aristotle, in his Ethics, with this only distinction, that whereas he thinks of the civil, we have to think of the Divine law; *all that God requires from men*, as afterwards, v. 20; vi. 33; 2 Pet. iii. 13. That Christ here implicitly points to the alone perfect δικαιοσύνη in himself, who is essentially the ἀλήθεια and δικαιοσύνη, might be concluded from verses 10 and 11, where the ἐνεκεν δικαιοσύνης is defined by ἐνεκεν ἐπιού. This beatitude likewise was eminently calcu-

^a Kypke, and after him Kuinöl, appeal to the fact, that Gatacker has produced examples from the LXX., in which the accusative stands; but Gatacker (De Stylo N. T. p. 197.) instances only the three texts, Ps. xlii. 2; lxiii. 1; Ex. xvii. 3; where, in the first, διψῶν is construed with πρὸς, in the two others with the dative, after the Hebrew נָמַצ with ל. In Ps. lxiii. 1, some have substituted σὶ for σοί, but the dative is right.

lated to cast down all carnal hopes. Spiritual-minded Israelites certainly expected in the Messia's kingdom that which Christ here promises, (Luke i. 77, 79; ii. 32); and the prophets also had pourtrayed forgiveness of sin, and sanctification, as its choicest blessings.

Like the other promises, this too has its fulfilment both here and hereafter. *Here*, inasmuch as, according to the Apostle's expression, that which was impossible to the law, even the conquering of sin: in the flesh, has been achieved by Christ, and the righteousness required by the law is, by means of faith in him, fulfilled in us, Rom. viii. 3, 4. In the kingdom of God reigns δικαιοσύνη, vi. 33, Rom. xiv. 17.^a *Hereafter*, inasmuch as this δικαιοσύνη shall then be consummated both in the individual, and in the community, 1 Cor. xv. 28; 2 Pet. iii. 13; Isaiah lx. 21.

From this conception of the meaning, which presents itself so naturally, diverges one we first meet with in Cleinens Alex. Stromata, l. 4. p. 444, who, guided, as it appears, by ver. 10, wished to take the accusative δικαιοσύνην adverbially, and expounded *with reference to*, i. e. *because of righteousness, reduced to hunger and thirst*; at the same time, however, he allows the correctness of the common acceptance. In support of what he proposes, an appeal is made to such texts as 1 Cor. iv. 11; Phil. iv. 12. The very same explanation occurred to Valla; he

^a According to D. Fritsche, it is not the δικαιοσύνη with which they shall be filled, but the beatitas in Messiaë regno. What, however, if in this kingdom, the δικαιοσύνη itself, as the texts we have quoted show, belongs to the beatitas?

cited Ps. li. 14 : ἀγαλλιάσεται ἡ γλῶσσα μου τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου, where the accusative signifies the same as the dative in Ps. cxlv. 7 : τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου ἀγαλλιάσονται. So in like manner did afterwards Maldonatus, Rich. Simon,^a and Olearius, the two last of whom chose the view, from the false persuasion, that our saying is identical with Luke vi. 21 : Μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες νῦν, ὅτι χορτασθήσεσθε ; whereas in Luke that is a mere extension of the πτωχοί. It would also be liable to another objection, viz. that the beatitude would then anticipate the 10th verse, and interrupt the train of thought. Still more surprising is the explanation of Calvin, who generally clings to the most natural interpretation. He supposes that the thirsting after righteousness, is a thirsting after *just decisions* from those worldly judges who oppress the godly for their godliness. This παραερμηνεία was acceded to by Gatacker.

V. 7—9. Here follow the beatitudes of the virtues which presuppose the possession of the δικαιοσύνη. Thus in v. 10, mention is made of those who are persecuted for the sake of righteousness, and to whom therefore righteousness must, at least, in a certain degree, belong. We have seen that the whole of the foregoing promises already begin to receive their fulfilment here in time. Accordingly, the persons hitherto described, the inwardly poor, the mourners, the humble, the desirous after righteousness, are such as have withal entered into the kingdom of God, participated in its consolations, victoriously discomfited their op-

^a Hist. des Comm. du N. T., p. 248.

ponents, and obtained, in part at least, contentment of their desire after righteousness. They are thus in circumstances to bring forth the fruits of the spirit, which are now mentioned, viz. compassionate love for suffering brethren, purification of the heart, and peace-making. The selection which our Saviour makes of these, from the numerous train of the Christian virtues, will be justified by a closer examination of them; but it may also have partly arisen from a regard to the existing circumstances of his hearers. We see, from the gospels, how little capable were the scribes of those days, inflated as they were with false knowledge and self-righteousness, to feel compassion for sinners (Matt. ix. 11; xi. 19); how their piety was merely outward (Matt. xv. 11; xxiii. 25), and how, filled with ambition and envy, and devoid of all love of truth, they were partly inclined to revolt from without, and partly kept up, as Justin frequently upbraids them in the Dial. c. Tryph. animosities, and contentions (ἐριθεία, φιλονεικία) among themselves. Each one of the virtues here commended, accordingly strikes at some leading vice of that age and nation.

V. 7. 'Ο, or in the N. T. τὸ ἔλεος, which, in its first origin, does certainly not differ from χάρις (the former connected with ἴλαος, the latter with χαρά, comp. Tob. vii. 17), is yet different in the usus loquendi, inasmuch as the idea of suffering *with another*, is inherent in it. Damascenus, De Orthod. Fid. ii. 14, and borrowing, as is probable, from him, the Etymolog. Magnum, and other glossaries, number it as one of the four species of λύπη with ἄχος, ἄχθος and φθόνος. Ἐλεήμων like οἰκτρίμων thus denotes *him who*

sympathizes in another's pain, and is thereby moved to succour him. This fellow-feeling with those that suffer, requires us to enter into their situation, and, as he who is himself a sufferer, can best do that, the quality presupposes, in the subject, sufferings of his own, which the preceding beatitudes likewise expressed. Although, however, the person who is himself a sufferer, may possess the will to enter into his suffering brother's case, he is usually destitute of the means of helping him, and, accordingly, his sympathy only becomes fully effective, when he obtains relief from his own distresses, in such a way as not to lose the remembrance of his former condition. Hence, also, the compassionate love which is here required, manifests itself operative, only in proportion as the subject has himself participated in the promises of the kingdom of God, by having his sorrow comforted, and his desires fulfilled. "To whom little is forgiven," saith the Saviour, "the same loveth little."

From the circumstance, that mercy is here promised as the recompence of anterior mercy on our part, it might certainly be inferred, that, under *ἐλεήμονες* we are to imagine such as have not yet, in any degree, partaken of mercy; but this conclusion would only be just upon the supposition, that the divine compassion consisted in an isolated act, which could be done to man but once for all. Seeing, however, that it is an act which extends over the whole life of the individual, and reaches its culminating point in eternity, it behoves us to consider the compassion of God for man, and of man for his brethren, as reciprocally calling forth

and affording a basis for each other. A final consummation will one day arrive, when, with the divine παράκλησις, the fulness of God's ἔλεος shall also be made the portion of the faithful.

Akin to this saying, although, as it relates to practical compassion and succour of distress, not entirely like it, are c. vi. 15 ; vii. 2. These texts, however, also shew, that not even as an adjunct, can the idea of mercy shewn us by our *fellow-men*, be connected with ἐλεηθῆσονται, which Calvin, Piscator, and others suppose. Παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ δηλονότι, says Euthymius.

V. 8. We come now to a saying, which, through all centuries, has kindled, in innumerable hearts, the flame of a sacred passion. Gregory of Nyssa commences the exposition of it with the animated words :
 " Ὅπερ παθεῖν εἰκὸς τοὺς ἐκ τινος ὑψηλῆς ἀκρωρείας εἰς ἀχανές τι κατακύπτοντας πέλαγος, τοῦτό μοι πέπονθεν ἡ διάνοια, ἐκ τῆς ὑψηλῆς τοῦ κυρίου φωνῆς οἷον ἀπὸ τινος κορυφῆς ὄρους, εἰς τὸ ἀδιεξίτητον τῶν νοημάτων βλέπουσα βάθος.^a

If we set out from the temporary allusion of the expressive words, which here also several, as for instance, Wetstein, Gratz, and Hetzel, have far too partially urged, they involve an antithesis to hypocrisy, which is afterwards in the sixth chapter in-

^a Such painful feelings as they may be supposed to have, who, from some lofty promontory cast their eyes upon the yawning ocean below, does my mind now suffer, when, from the lofty voice of the Saviour, as from the pinnacle of a mountain, it looks down into the unfathomable abyss of the thoughts.

veighed against. Καθαρός means the contrary of *mixed* or *discoloured*. See Jamblichus Vit. Pyth. p. 126. Thus the Greek says, καθαρόν φῶς, καθαρά χεῖρά, καθαρά νύξ. It accordingly amounts to as much as ἀκήρατος, ἀπλοῦς, and hence even among classics, is equivalent to ἀνυπόκριτος, and the reverse of δίψυχος, Jas. iv. 8; in which sense both the Old and New Testament frequently conjoin it with καρδία and συνείδησις, 1 Tim, i. 5, as we also call those impure who are not upright. The antitheses to *mixed* or *discoloured* is founded, however, upon the more general one to *defilement*, Tit. i. 15; and thus purity directly denotes piety. In the Old Testament we have בר לב, Ps. lxxiii. 1, לב טהור, Ps. li. 12, בר ידי, Ps. xviii. 21; and in the New, it is used of the heart and the hands. The classics have also καθαρότης τῆς ψυχῆς, e. g. Arrian ii. 18; iv. 5, 11, 19. In the same way the ancients say of God, that he is καθαρός and ἀκήρατος. Now this more comprehensive sense καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ has also here. Comp. οἱ τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς ἐξέραντισμένοι, Heb. x. 22. Origen: ^a Οὐ τοὺς ἀπηλλαγμένους πορνείας, ^b ἀλλὰ τοὺς πάντων ἀμαρτημάτων πᾶσα γὰρ ἀμαρτία ῥύπον ἐντίθησι τῇ ψυχῇ. ^c This purification of heart follows as a necessary conse-

^a Hom. 73. in Joan. § 2.

^b Melancthon explains the καθαρότης τῆς καρδίας to mean chastity alone, and even Chrysostom remarks: καθαροὺς δὲ ἐν ταυτῇ φησιν, ἢ τοὺς καθολικὴν ἀρετὴν κεκτημένους, καὶ μηδὲν ἑαυτοῖς συνειδότας πονηρὸν, ἢ τοὺς ἐν σωφροσύνῃ διάγοντας.

^c Not those who are free from fornication, but those who are so from all kinds of sin; for all sin imprints a stain upon the soul.

quence, the more a man belongs to the kingdom, receives its *παράκλησις* and *δικαιοσύνη*, and grows both in sympathizing love to his brethren, and in the consciousness of the love he has himself experienced.

Here also it is very obvious in what manner the promise corresponds with the beatitude. Of that we now give a doctrinal elucidation. The usual interpretation of the formula *ὄπτεσθαι τὸν Θεόν* is as follows: Eastern kings conceal themselves from the view of their subjects, and hence, *to see the king's face*, is there regarded as a peculiar favour and distinction, 1 King x. 8. The royal ministers are by pre-eminence called "those that see the king's face." 2 Kings xxv. 19; Est. i. 14. In compliance with this belief of ancient nations, Christ transfers the image to the relation betwixt God and man, in order to express the *maxima felicitas*.^a This account of the origin of the phrase is perfectly correct; Comp. particularly Rev. vii. 15; xxii. 4, where the servants of God stand for ever before his throne, and find their happiness in seeing his face, doing him service, and bearing his name in their foreheads. There are, however, two mistakes made in the usual interpretation of the formula; the one when it is considered, as Kuinöl expresses himself, a mere *existimatio priscorum populorum*, that intimate converse with a great and wise prince is a desirable thing; and the other, when it is set down

^a When others explain the image from the phrase "נראה את־פני", of the appearing of the pious in the temple (Lakemacher Observ. Philolog. P. i. p. 96. J. D. Michaelis on Math. v. 8), it comes to the same thing; for Jehovah is here contemplated as a king.

as a vain fancy of the Jews to figure God as a king. Even the New Testament styles him the King of kings, and Lord of lords, 1 Tim. vi. 15; for while earthly monarchs, in their majesty, power, wisdom, justice, and clemency, only imperfectly realize the idea, and shew forth the image of a king, that idea has its highest truth in God. But, as all that earthly monarchs really possess of majesty, wisdom, justice, mercy, and clemency, constitutes a reflection of the Divine Being, in which, as in a mirror, he may be beheld, familiar intercourse with princes so endowed is truly an enviable blessing. Like all representations, therefore, in which Scripture speaks of the Deity, that which lies at the basis of the phrase ὄπτεισθαι τὸν Θεόν, instead of being devoid of meaning, is, on the contrary, full of substantial truth; the figure is not unlike the thing, but entirely resembles it.

Let us now examine the principal texts in which this figure is used. According to Ex. xxxiii. 20, God cannot be seen by man, and man live; and, in like manner, it is said in the New Testament, John i. 18; vi. 46; 1 Tim. vi. 16, that "no man hath seen God, nor can see him." On the contrary, we read Num. xii. 8, that Moses saw the "תַּמַּנֵּת. Mention is also made of seeing God, Gen. xxxii. 30; Is. vi. 1; Ps. xvii. 15; xlii. 3; Ex. xxiii. 17; xxxiv. 23; Job xix. 27, and in the New Testament, a seeing of God and Christ is promised at Heb. xii. 14; 1 John iii. 2, as well as in our text; we have to add the already cited passage, Rev. xxii. 4. Now, in what manner are these apparently contradictory statements to be reconciled? With the exception of Num. xii. 8; Ps.

xvii. 15, all the Old Testament texts relate to the appearing in the temple before the כבוד, the symbol of God's presence, or to the vision of God in a symbol, or to a view of the mighty working of God. Ps. xvii. 15, relates to the vision of God *hereafter*. But Num. xii. 8, appears certainly to refer to a vision of God on this side the grave, and has always perplexed expositors. The striking circumstance in the passage is the speaking פה אל-פה, and then the beholding the תמת יי. From both expressions, however, it does not follow, that, in contradiction to Ex. xxxiii. 20, the being of God can be seen; the פה אל-פה rather denotes, in contrast to visions and riddles, an *audible* voice, and תמונה, as in Job iv. 16, a *sensible* image, by which the divine presence is manifested.^a None of the Old Testament texts, accordingly, say that the Divine Being can be seen in time; and as little is that implied in any which are here quoted from the New; for John xii. 45 does not apply. If then we refer the declarations that God cannot be seen, to the sphere of the *present* life, the apparent contradiction of the two sets of passages, is reconciled. The vision of God, which is promised in Ps. xvii. 15; ^b Matt. v. 8; Heb. xii. 14;

^a Many excellent and beautiful extracts from the Rabbins upon this passage, as well as explanatory of the texts, hereafter to be discussed from the Epistles to the Corinthians, are to be found in the Treatise of Iken, T. I. diss. xxvi. Comp. also the words of Chrysostom on Is. vi. 1, Tom. vi. ed. Montf.

^b An unprejudiced exegesis cannot avoid referring אחזה פניך in this passage to the vision in another life, as in fact De Wette and Rosenmüller have done in the 2d edition.

and resp. 1 John iii. 2, (which, however, respects Christ,) belongs accordingly in the strict sense, to *the future world*.^a And this coincides perfectly with 2 Cor. v. 7, where, in contrast to the world that now is, the world to come is intimated as the region of vision. It coincides also, with 1 Cor. xiii. 12, where, in contrast to *knowing in a glass*, mention is made of a *knowing of God in the same way, in which we are known by him*. Let us next try to search out the import of the expression, *the vision of God hereafter*.

On this subject, the views of the church have been different, according as the reigning conceptions of the Divine Being were, at the time, more or less sensible. Such a conception as that which Tertullian formed, naturally involves, that the vision of him is of a corporeal nature, and restricted to a particular place. To this view, that of the Socinians in later times approximates most nearly, as might be expected from the very meagre theology of the party, which confines the existence of God to a determinate space. Here Conrad Vorstius went the greatest length. In the Evangelical church, the majority forbore defining the nature and mode of the vision. Even Gisbert Voe-

They who interpret it of appearing in the Temple, as among others Dr. Bretschneider still does (Dogm. ii. 478),—who, moreover, brings forward one after the other, Ps. xvii. 15, and Ps. xvii. 17, as two different texts, whereas the Psalm contains only fifteen verses,—do not reflect that the expressions יי נראה את־פני and יי הוזה את are perfectly different.

^a Mahomet also borrowed from Christianity, as significant of the highest bliss hereafter, the image, *the sight of God's face*. See Reland de Religione Muh. L. ii. § 17. Pococke, Miscellanea ad portam Mosis, p. 304.

tius himself, who fell quite into the ancient scholasticism, concludes a minute and instructive disputation upon the subject, with the result, that nothing positively certain can be determined with respect to the visio beatifica.^a Gerhard likewise^b abstains from a positive opinion, although the majority of the older Lutheran divines, such as Calov and Hollaz, incline to the belief of a vision *oculis corporeis glorificatis*. So also Dav. Chytræus, the disciple of Melancthon, declares expressly, in his book, *De vita et morte æterna*,^c that the vision shall take place *mentibus et oculis*. Differently the Greek Fathers and Augustine. The former universally explain the ὀπτεσθαι τὸν Θεόν as meaning γινῶσις τρενής. Upon our text Chrysostom very briefly says: ὄψιν δὲ ἐνταῦθά φησιν, ἣν ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατὸν ἰδεῖν; but in his Homily 75, (76) upon John, he remarks: ἐπειδὴν γὰρ τῶν αἰσθήσεων τρενοτέρη ἢ ὄψις, διὰ ταύτης ἀεὶ τὴν ἀκριβῆ παρίστησι (ἢ γραφῆ) γινῶσιν; See Suiceri, *Thes. s. v. ὄραω, ἀράτος, θεωρέω*. The beautiful manner in which, according to this, Theodoret explains our passage, we shall afterwards quote. Notwithstanding, however, all these fathers, down to Damien, hold fast, as is shown by Chrysostom's words, above quoted, the incomprehensibility of God, *i. e.* that no creature ever sees through the Divine essence. On the other hand, Augustine, who occupied himself greatly with the question about the visio Dei, upheld the comprehen-

^a De visione Dei per essentiam, in the *Select. Disput.* P. ii. p. 1655.

^b *Tom. xx.* p. 394.

^c *Witteb.* 1583, p. 157.

sibility of the *essentia Dei*, in the sphere of the life to come. In many passages of his works, he has expressed himself beautifully upon the subject, particularly in the letter ad Paulinum,^a which Calvin also applauds. Whether, however, he should allow the bodily eye a share in the vision, was a point upon which he was dubious, and, in different places, delivers different opinions. He justly observed, that the determination of it depends upon the degree in which we conceive the glorified *σῶμα*, spoken of by Paul, to be spiritualized. The Scholastics also, with acuteness, maintained, that the knowledge of God in the life to come, is to be considered not only spiritual, but as something substantial and absolute.

We engage in no attempt to define the relation between vision beyond, and faith on this side of the grave, nor, in any question connected with it, or which rests on mere speculation; but, upon exegetical grounds, we would investigate whether the vision of God, of which our text speaks, is to be considered as of an inward or of an outward kind. The clearest proof that it is the former, the text itself affords. We have hitherto seen how the promises are analogous to the beatitudes. Now, if this be also the case here, the virtue, which is the subject of the beatitude, must, like the others, contain within itself the ground of the promise; so that the meaning cannot be, “Blessed is the man who is pure in *heart*, because, as a reward for that, he shall see God with his *eyes*,” but the pure heart itself is intimated to be the organ whereby the vision of God be-

^a Ep. 147, Tom i. ed. Ben.

comes attainable by us. This, ancient expositors have long ago plainly recognised.^a We are also led to suppose a *spiritual* vision, by 1 Cor. xiii. 12, where the *seeing* (*βλέπειν*) *now* and *then* is put on a parallel with the *knowing* (*γινώσκειν*), and of our knowledge of God hereafter, the same clearness is predicated, which belongs to God's knowledge of us; that, however, is not procured through the medium of external sense. We shall be conducted to the same result, and likewise more deeply into the essence of the matter, by reflecting upon the *condition* on which the vision of God depends. Here it is *purity of heart*, in Heb. xii. 14, *holiness*—just as seeing of Christ on our part, in the texts 1 John iii. 2, and 2 Cor. iii. 18, is stated as *the ground of our sanctification*. If then the Scripture supposes such a reciprocity between the vision of God and resemblance to him, it is clear that the *seeing* is not a seeing with *the bodily eye*, but with the *inward sight*, and can consist in nothing but in that consciousness of God, which is connected with growing likeness to him, and purity of heart. The fine passage 2 Cor. iii. 18, speaks admirably upon the sub-

^a Euthymius "Ὡσπερ γὰρ τὸ κάτοπτρον, ἐὰν ᾗ καθαρὸν, τότε δέχεται τὰς ἐμφάσεις οὕτω καὶ ἡ καθαρὰ ψυχὴ δέχεται ὄψιν Θεοῦ. Theodoret expresses himself in a singularly beautiful manner upon the subject, both in his Com. on 2 Cor. iii. 18, and in the Quæ. 69 in Exod. (T. I. ed. Hal. p. 147.) At the last passage, it is said, in allusion to our text: Ὡσπερ τὰ διειδῆ κάτοπτρα τῶν εἰσορῶντων τοὺς τύπους ἐκμάττεται, οὕτως αἱ καθαραὶ καρδίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν δόξαν εἰσδέχονται . . . Ὡσπερ ὁ ἐν σκότει καθήμενος σκοτεινὸς γίνεται, ὁ δὲ ἐν ἡλίῳ, ἡλιοειδὴς καὶ φωτεινός· οὕτως ὁ τῷ Θεῷ προσεδρεύων Θεοειδὴς δέχεται χαρακτηρισ. In the same way does he explain our text according to 2 Cor. iii. 18.

ject. In explaining it, we presuppose that the *κατοπτρίζομενοι τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου*, as almost all modern expositors have decided, is to be interpreted, "beholding the glory of God in a glass," and that the Apostle chose the expression *κατοπτρίζεσθαι* instead of *ἀτενίζειν ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ*, for the sake of the allusion to the *repercussio* which took place with the metal mirrors of the ancients. There then results from this noble passage the following sense: "While we, in the glory of the Lord, who is the Spirit, with the uncovered eye of the heart, contemplate ourselves as it were in a glass, then, just as the mirror throws back the rays of light, that glory of his is ever more and more transfused into us, so that we are refined into his image; which cannot but take place, the Lord being the Lord of the Spirit." Here, the *inward* vision of Christ is in like manner stated as the ground of spiritualization, and that as the ground of assimilation; just as, *vice versa*, the inward vision already presupposes a relationship with Christ, according to John iii. 19, 20; xviii. 37. From all this, we accordingly infer, that the vision is to be conceived as *inward*. It might now be asked, however, if such inward vision may not be attained, even in the present life, as in point of fact, 2 Cor. iii. 18, speaks of the life of believers upon earth. This we must unquestionably admit, seeing that in 1 Cor. xiii. 12, even faith is termed a *βλέπειν*, although *δι' ἐσόπτρου*, and *ἐν αἰνίγματι*, and no less a *γινώσκειν*, although *ἐκ μέρους*. Indeed, according to the nature of Christian faith, such must be the case, seeing that it is the *ὑπόστασις* of the thing believed, and so a *positive* and *substantial* apprehension of that must take place, Heb.

xi. 1. Hence we can put no other difference between sight and belief, than that which obtains between the *imperfect* and the *perfected* kingdom of God. Sight is peculiar to the state hereafter, only in the same sense as the taking possession of the βασιλεία is spoken of as something hereafter, notwithstanding that it commences in time. When Paul, 2 Cor. v. 7, expresses the positive antithesis: "We walk by faith, not by sight," this is to be understood in the same way as when he speaks of himself, Rom. viii. 21, as waiting for the ἐλευθερία of the children of God, and yet also says, 2 Cor. iii. 17, "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." The intermedial idea in the latter instance is, "but as yet we have but the ἀπαρχή of the Spirit, and not the full harvest;" in the former, "Our faith is still not sight, in the full sense of the word, because, being restrained by the material fetter, it cannot reach to pure vision." Accordingly, it holds true of the present promise, no less than of all the rest, that its fulfilment takes place initiatively here, and in completion hereafter. We conclude this discussion as we commenced it, with a fine passage from Gregory of Nyssa: Μακάριος ὁ κάθαρος τῆς καρδίας, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν καθαρότητα βλέπων, ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι καθορᾷ τὸν ἀρχέτυπον. "Ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ ἐν κατόπτρῳ ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἥλιον, κἄν μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέπωσιν ἀτενές, οὐδὲν ἕλαττον ὁρῶσιν τὸν Ἥλιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ κατόπτρου αὐγῇ, τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποβλεπόντων τοῦ ἡλίου τὸν κύκλον οὕτω, φησί, καὶ ὑμεῖς, κἄν ἀτονῆτε πρὸς κατανόησιν φωτός, ἐὰν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγκατασκευασθεῖσαν ὑμῖν χάριν τῆς εἰκόνης ἐπαναδράμητε, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὸ ζητούμενον ἔχετε καθαρότης γὰρ,

ἀπάθεια καὶ κακοῦ παντὸς ἀλλοτριώσεις ἢ θεότης ἐστίν, εἰ οὖν ταῦτα ἐν σοὶ ἐστὶ, Θεὸς πάντως ἐν σοὶ ἐστίν.^a

V. 9. If, first of all, we call up the temporary reference of this saying, it alludes to that spirit of dissension which, springing from the root of bitterness in the heart, (Heb. xii. 15.) disturbed both the public and private life of the contemporaries of Jesus. This period, and still more that which followed, abounded in rebellions and popular insurrections without number. Let the reader call to mind the tumult at the feast of the passover, witnessed by Archelaus, in the very commencement of his reign, when the people seized upon the hill of the temple, and in which 3000 of them were slain; the frightful bloodshed in the capital under Sabinus, while Archelaus and Antipas were in Rome, suing for confirmation in their government, on which occasion the hill of the temple was again the scene of combat, and its halls were set on fire; the robber-bands of Judas, Simon, and Athronges, of whom 2000 afterwards forfeited their life upon the cross, and the distur-

^a Blessed is the pure in heart, because, contemplating his own purity, he beholds in the image the archetype which reflects it; for, as those who behold the sun in a mirror, notwithstanding that they do not steadfastly look up to the heavens, still see the sun in the brightness of the mirror, no less than those who gaze aloft, do the orb itself; in like manner may you, although you cannot attain to the comprehension of the light, still, by returning back to the grace of the image which was formed in your souls at first, possess within yourselves the object of your search; for purity, freedom from passion, and alienation from all evil, is *Divinity*. If these are in you, God himself is in you.

bances under Pilate. Still more did passion reign in domestic life, engendering division in all hearts. Hatred, violence, open and secret assassination, belonged to the occurrences of every day life. Compare the dreadful picture which Josephus draws of his countrymen.^a It was the most confined field for the display of the reigning strife and passion which was afforded by the disputes of schools. The scribes sought their own honour (John v. 44). As usual, the consequence of this was a party-spirited and quarrelsome love of disputation, with which, under the name of ἐριθεία, the apostles so frequently upbraided the Jews, as does also Justin Martyr.^b

Upon the stage of a world thus full of war, and of disorders emanating from vanity and self-love, does that personage enter who could say of himself, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly;" and here he extols those who, imbued with his spirit, not only have peace in themselves, but spread it around them. Heb. xii. 14. 2 Tim. ii. 22. Mark ix. 50. To comprehend, however, the significance of this beatitude, we must not conceive of *peace* and of *peace-making* merely according to the idea which this individual or that may please to form of them, but, entering into the mind of Christ, understand both, in the full spiritual sense, *in which we must presuppose he himself apprehended them*. A disposition to peace, to conciliation and unity, is no less extolled both by Greeks and Rabbins. As no one but Christ, however, knows, in all the extent of the term, in what peace consists, and what are the prerequisites

^a De Bel. Jud. L. v. c. 13, § 6, c. 10. § 5.

^b Cohort. ad Græc. p. 9. ed. Par.

of peace-making, so in this, as in innumerable cases, the sentiments of others, which appear parallel, are not so in reality.^a With respect to the word *peace*, more especially, we can shew that Christ expressly designed it to be understood in a higher sense than that which it bore in the common language of the people. Whether at John xiv. 27, we do or do not find in the Εἰρήνην ἀφίημι, an allusion to the common form of valediction, in either case, but more especially in the first, Christ declares that the peace which is conferred by and through him, is of a higher kind than what the world usually understands by the word. The Evangelists themselves appear to have recognised a loftier signification in the salutation εἰρήνη ὑμῶν in the mouth of Christ, as may be inferred from the frequent mention of the words after the resurrection, John xx. 19; xxi. 26; Luke xxiv. 36. Moreover, we see from Luke x. 5, 6, that the Saviour did not intend the εἰρήνη ὑμῶν when uttered by his followers to be used as an empty form. Among Christians in after times, the ordinary form of greeting χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη, substituted in place of the heathen χαίρειν, which is used in Scripture by James alone, i. 1, refers principally to the peace procured by Christ. To this also points the appellation 'Ο Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης, a title which, as it is not to be found in the Old Testament, must have been framed by the

^a If we look only to outward similarity, we may find a perfect parallel to the Lord's beatitude in the Talmudic Tract, Peah c. 1. § 1. where it is said: Of the following things man reaps the fruits both in the present and future life, honouring father and mother, doing benefits, and *making peace between man and man.*

Christians, is often repeated by Paul, and occurs also in the Epistle to the Hebrews. It hence appears, that in the full sense of the term, and according to the representation of Scripture, peace only becomes the portion of the Christian, when, through Christ, he has obtained peace with God; for which reason Christ himself is called *ὁ εἰρηνοποιήσας*, Col. i. 20; Eph. ii. 15. On the other hand, we must now also say, that, contemplated from the Christian point of view, a peaceable relation between man and man can only be perfectly established by redemption, inasmuch as according to what we remarked, v. 7, it is this which makes us merciful and disposed to forgive, Eph. iv. 32; Col. iii. 13. When the Saviour, therefore, acquainted both with the deepest root of dissension among mankind, and with the one only remedy by which it can be effectually extirpated, here pronounces blessed the disposition of the peacemaker, we can suppose nothing else but that peacemaking in his view, *i. e.* in the full sense of the word, coincides with the planting of the peace of God in the bosoms of men, and accordingly that the *εἰρηνοποιοί* are such as being already possessed of a heart more or less pure, and having thereby attained to peace with God themselves, spread that, and at the same time the peace of men among each other in the world. That at the time when our Lord uttered the words, there was none capable of understanding them in this comprehensive sense, does not, in the least, shew that it was not the sense in which the divine Master understood them: For how many of his heavenly sayings have, up to the present day, never been fully fathom-

ed? and, in fact, we stand in need of a Diviné word precisely of such a kind, as that the longer we study it, the more it shall elevate us to itself.

If this be the full meaning of the *εἰρηνοποιός*, we can then comprehend what is otherwise inexplicable, viz. why it should have been here placed where it is. It marks a wider developement of the *καθαρότης τῆς καρδιάς*, which, in the course of expansion, passes into the endeavour to spread outwardly the peace which is felt within. We also perceive, better than the more restricted and superficial conception of *εἰρήνη* permits, why this promise should have been annexed to this beatitude, although still the connection between them is less apparent than in the other instances. We now cast a glance at the history of the exposition.^a

^a In like manner, as from other statements of Scripture, enjoining the love of peace and submission upon the disciples of Jesus, the false inference has, in consequence of partial views, been drawn, that every struggle with the evil that is in the world was prohibited, the same has been done here. Against this Zwingli protests: *Pax quæ per pios conficitur intra limites a Deo præscriptos manere debet, quas si transgreditur, pax haudquaquam vocanda est. Pax nostra cum pace Dei consentiat, tum demum vera pax dicenda erit.* Luther: We ought to do all we can, both by advice and help, to maintain peace, and to be silent when silence is possible. But when the sin is manifest, and spreads far and wide, then silence is no more lawful; but warning and correction are the duty of such as, like myself, have a public office, and whom it behoves to teach and admonish all. For I am ordered and enjoined, as a preacher and doctor, called for this purpose, to see that none be seduced, and so on. Comp. the *εἰ δὲ διατίεν*, Rom. xii. 18.

The majority of the expositors of the present day, and several of an older date, especially Socinians and Arminians, see, in the saying, the isolated commendation of the virtue of peacemaking or personal placability towards others. Ancient commentators, particularly the Fathers, bring forward single aspects of the notion which we have formed of the word; most characterize the εἰρηνοποιός as him who has first made peace within himself, and then also reconciles others; some, as him who spreads among those around him peace with God. In the first place, all insist that εἰρηνοποιός is something more than εἰρηνικός and εἰρηναῖος, inasmuch as the former involves the latter. Gregory of Nyssa, for instance, speaks as follows: Βούλεται τοίνυν πρότερον εἶναι σε πλήρη τῶν τῆς εἰρήνης καλῶν, εἴθ' οὕτως ὀρέγῃν τοῖς ἐνδεῶς ἔχουσι τοῦ τοιούτου κτήματος ὥσπερ τοίνυν τὰ εὐώδη τῶν ἀρωμάτων, τῆς ἰδίας εὐπνοίας τὸν παρακείμενον ἀέρα πλήρη ποιεῖ, οὕτω σοι βούλεται κατὰ περιουσίαν πλεονάζειν τῆς εἰρήνης, τὴν χάριν, ὥστε τὸν σὸν βίον θεραπείαν εἶναι τῆς ἀλλοτρίας νόσου;^a and then they observe that the virtue here mentioned, is analogous to the work of Christ. Chrysostom: καὶ γὰρ τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἔργον ἐγένετο τοῦτο, συναγαγεῖν τὰ διεστῶτα καὶ καταλλάξαι τὰ ἐκπεπιλερωμένα.^b Making peace in *one's own breast* (between the spirit and the flesh), τὸν ἐμφύλιον

^a He hence desires that you yourself should first be filled with the blessings of peace, and then impart them to those who are in want. As sweet-scented aromatics, therefore, fill with their own fragrance all the surrounding air, so does he wish the grace of peace to abound and overflow in you, that your life may prove the cure of your brother's disease.

^b For this was the work of the only begotten, to unite the divided, and reconcile the hostile.

πόλεμον καταλύειν, is brought forward by Gregory of Nyssa, and after him by Phavorinus in his Lexicon, as likewise by Jerome and Euthymius. But the latter and Theophylact also state another meaning: εἰρηνοποιοὶ δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ διὰ διδασκαλίας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιστρέφοντες, and so also Clemens Alex.^a Among moderns, Elsner, in particular, has taken the word quite decisively in the same sense, as οἱ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ πρεσβεύοντες, 2 Cor. v. 19, 20.

In reference to the precise determination of the sense of the words, we have still to observe, that some exegetical authors have taken εἰρηνοποιός as perfectly synonymous with εἰρηνικός, Jas. iii. 17. So the Vulgate, which translates *pacifici*, and Luther, who has *die friedfertigen*; likewise the Danish, Dutch, and other translations, and, among expositors, particularly Grotius and Wetstein. Does then the word also bear this meaning? Doubtless it originally involves it; but we question whether it has ever been expressly so used. Passow, it is true, states as a secondary meaning, that it is synonymous with εἰρηνικός, but has hardly any other authority for the assertion, than the usually cited passage of Pollux, who, in the Onomast. I. 41, places side by side, as epithets of a king, βασιλεὺς εἰρηνικός, εἰρηνοποιός, and 152, περὶ συμμάχων εἰρηνοποιῶν καὶ πολεμοποιῶν, which passages, however, do not shew the identity of the two words. Rather, in the known quotations from the classics, εἰρηνοποιός never appears but in the sense of *pacificator*, especially used of the εἰρηνοδίκαι, *faciales*. It would be wrong,

^a Strom. L. i. p. 319.

however, to contest, that this use of it might have place in the Hellenistic. For even although *εἰρηνοποιεῖν*, as a compound, can only signify *to make peace*, LXX. Is. xxvii. 5; Prov. x. 10; still, after the analogy of *ποιεῖν ἔλεος, ἀμαρτίαν, δικαιοσύνην, ποιεῖν εἰρήνην* was likewise used in the sense of *being peaceable*, Jas. iii. 18.

The sense of the promise is determined by the meaning of *υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*. In the connection in which the phrase here appears, the readiest way would be to regard sonship as denoting *resemblance*. This it quite obviously does v. 45, where, in place of *υἱοί* some codices have the gloss *ὅμοιοι*; compare v. 48: And so, on the other hand, does Jesus, John viii. 38, 44, call the Jews *υἱοὶ τοῦ διαβόλου*, because their works correspond with those of the devil. Comp. 1 John iii. 8. Eph. v. 1. Certainly, however, when we take up *εἰρηνοποιοί* superficially, and understand by it nothing farther than bringing persons at feud to a good understanding with each other, it is difficult to perceive what special resemblance to God there should be in that. It is thus that the present clause, and likewise Luke vi. 35; xx. 36, have, by Schleusner and others, been translated: *Deo simillimi erunt*, to which the same lexicographer, Rosenmüller and some more, here subjoin: *atque adeo dilectissimi*, a turn of the trope, in support of which Ecclesiasticus iv. 10 might particularly be quoted: *γίνου ὀρφανοῖς ὡς πατήρ, καὶ ἀντὶ ἀνδρὸς ἡμῶν ἀυτῶν καὶ ἔση ὡς υἱὸς ὑψίστου, καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε μᾶλλον ἢ μήτηρ σου*. It must be questioned, however, with what right, from amongst the multifarious aspects presented by the relation of childship, selection is here made of the resemblance which the child bears, and of the circum-

stance that he is an object of love to the Father. When we consider that Christ does not say εἰσί, but uses a future tense, nay, the future tense of the verb καλεῖν, in the sense *celebrabuntur*, it seems proper that we ought not, a priori, to single out any isolated reference from the predicate of Sonship, but are rather bound to presuppose that the Saviour intends all the lofty things comprehended in the denomination of a son of God when applied to man, and to conceive the idea in the utmost latitude which, by the nature of the case, the subjects of whom it is here used admit. The relation of childship and paternity, like every other living relation of nature, comprises a vast number of aspects: The child is beloved by the father, and loves him in turn, he has a share in the father's property and rank, stands beneath his defence and protection, resembles him in appearance, imitates his actions, lives in familiar intercourse with him, and in this intercourse finds his delight. These references, however, are founded collectively in one still more original; and that is, a connection in being with the father, from which every other ultimately results. Now, if this natural relation be transferred to the relation between man and God, it will be capable of application only where there is, and in proportion as there is, a spiritual oneness between the parties. Its applicability will be greatest where that oneness is most absolute. Hence, in the fullest sense of the word, there is but one Son of God, even he who is pre-eminently called ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ; and where the term is applied to men in Scripture, it is true of them only in an imperfect sense. Now, such is the case, in the first place, with the na-

tion of Israel, which is called the Son of God, inasmuch as, albeit not standing in unity of spirit with God, it still enjoyed the divine protection and love and converse and blessing. More especially were the kings of Israel styled Sons of God, and inasmuch as the sonship already subsisting in the relation of the Jewish people and their princes to the Divine Being reached its consummation in Christ, they were both, Matt. ii. 15, regarded as types of Christ. Again, the same is the case, when Adam and men in general receive as creatures of God, the name of God's children, Luke iii. 38. Acts xvii. 28. Ecclesiasticus xxiii. 1, and as several suppose, Heb. xii. 9, inasmuch as God is the author and upholder of their being, originally conferred his spirit upon them, and created them according to his image. And, finally, this is the case with those who have entered into fellowship with Christ. Of such it is said, that by a spiritual generation they have been born again, John iii. 6. Jas. i. 18. 1 Pet. i. 23; that a divine seed remaineth in them, 1 John iii. 9; and that they are *κοινωνοὶ τῆς θείας φύσεως* 2 Pet. i. 4. There subsists also among them a spiritual communion, and that is destined one day to ripen into conformity to the image of him who, in the highest sense of the term, is called the Son of God. Rom. viii. 29. 1 John iii. 2. Now, inasmuch as in the case of such persons, that *primary* relation which is the basis of Sonship subsists, all the other aspects of the relation which we have stated above, likewise enter. They are filled with filial love to God, and he with paternal love to them; they are *κληρονόμοι Θεοῦ*, and pos-

sess what belongs to him ; they participate in his dignity and in the glory of Christ ; they are under the protection of God, and live in ever growing fellowship with him.

Now, as Christ in our text speaks of such as have entered into union with himself, all these privileges which we have enumerated are implied in the predicate *υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*. It is true, indeed, that in that case the promise does not, like those in the preceding context, answer to the beatitude ; but neither does this happen, when prominence is given to the aspect of *resemblance*, and that title of the Divine Being *ὁ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης* is called to memory ;^a for it is hard to see why it might not equally well be said of the pure in heart, and of the merciful : *Deo similes erunt*. The future *κληθήσονται*, as in the previous promises, refers partly to the present life, but principally to the life to come, when the now hidden glory of Christians shall be made manifest in the state of consummation, Col. iii. 4. *Καλεῖσθαι*, not entirely the same with *εἶναι*, denotes here, as at ver. 19, and particularly in the parallel 1 John iii. 1, the *recognition* of Christians in their glory ; a recognition which, for the present, is but

^a Gregory of Nyssa : *τίνες οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί ; οἱ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς Θείας ἐνεργείας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδίου δεικνύντες βίου. Ἐναίρει καθόλου καὶ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν περιῖστησιν, ὁ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐνεργέτης καὶ κύριος, πᾶν ὅσον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔκφυλόν τε καὶ ἀλλότριον*. Who are peace-makers ? They who manifest in their own life that which is the property of the divine power. For he who is the Lord and Bestower of all good things, wholly uproots and reduces to nothing whatever is foreign and heterogeneous to good.

imperfect, in a world where Christ himself is not acknowledged; but which shall be perfected one day, 1 John iii. 1—3.

Exegetical authors and lexicographers in the treatment of this, as of many other biblical ideas, overlooking the multiplicity of aspects which it involves, have too commonly split and isolated the particular references; but especially have omitted to discover the fundamental notion. The most trivial of all the ways, however, in which the expression has been discussed in modern times, is that of Ilgen, in his Commentation, *De notione tituli Filii Dei*, who finds no more, in the title, Son of the Gods, or God's Son, than the vestiges of a rude and uncivilized antiquity. Teller, in his Dictionary on the word *Kind Gottes*, brings forward only the single meaning, "The Christian who professes a religion procuring him free access to God." Knapp^a gives two, "Christians," he says, "are called God's children; 1. Because they love God as their father; 2. Because they are beloved of him in turn." Most, in defining the sense, proceed upon the idea of *Favourite, Pupil*. We name Zachariæ's *Biblische Theologie*,^b Herder, *Vom Geist des Christenthums*.^c Noesselt, who endeavours to illustrate the idea in a separate treatise, *De vera vi notionis filiorum Dei*, (in the 2d vol. of the *Opuscula*) says, that the expression intimates, that Christians resemble God, 1st, by the *Vera Sapientia* with which they are endowed; 2d, By the *Virtus*; 3d, By the *Beatitas*; 4th, It implies generally

^a Glaubenslehre ii. s. 214.

^b s. 299.

^c s. 46.

the same as *Christianus*. Of moderns, Doderlein speaks best upon the subject, in his *Institutio* II.^a Only he makes the idea of *felicitas* too prominent. Among the ancients may be compared Suiceri *The-saurus*, s. v. τέκνον and υἱὸς Θεοῦ, and Gerhard's *Loci*, Tom. iv. 266.

V. 10—12. Here terminates the Heptad of the beatitudes, in which the disciple of Christ's kingdom is pourtrayed. The beatitude in ver. 10 we must consider an annexation, of which again, as the very disposition of the clause shows, ver. 11 is to be looked upon as a mere extension. The Saviour now sets up the disciple, endowed with these dispositions, in contrast with the world, and shows him the fate which awaits him there. If what he has hitherto spoken have not sufficiently annihilated all carnal expectations of a Messiah, what is now delivered cannot fail to produce that effect. When modern divines refer all that Scripture declares about the persecution of Christians on the part of the world, to the circumstances of those times, and to the discrepancy betwixt Heathen and Hebrew, and explain, on the same principle, the sayings which now follow, they proceed upon a no less carnal view of the church of Christ, than that which the bulk of the Jews entertained of the Messiah's kingdom; for it implies, that whoever lives within the precincts of the church, is on that very account sundered from the κόσμος. The persons whose characters are here drawn, are rather such as have received into their hearts the Spirit of Christ; the saying, indeed, declares that they are persecuted

for his, and for righteousness' sake. The ground of the persecution, accordingly, lies in that natural enmity betwixt light and darkness, of which John iii. 20 speaks; and hence, wherever there is a darkness, which Christ has not yet lightened, there that enmity is likewise found. From ver. 9th to ver. 10th, we find a demonstrable transition; the word *εἰρηνοποιοί* awakens the thought of the enmity of the world. The world should love peacemakers; the body, says the Epistle to Diognetus, ought to love the Spirit from which it receives life; and yet, notwithstanding, the reverse takes place. How does the Saviour, when he utters these words, appear to have before his eyes the history of all following centuries!^a

Of verses 10th and 11th it is curious to find, what certainly was not accidental, a reminiscence in the First Epistle of Peter iii. 14: *Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ πᾶσχοιτε διὰ δικαιοσύνην, μακάριοι*, and iv. 14: *εἰ ὀνειδίξεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ, μακάριοι*. The *δικαιοσύνη*, of which ver. 6th speaks, as of an object of desire, is here represented as already possessed. Moreover, as the *ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ* shows, it is Christian righteousness, fellowship with Christ, which is meant. It is remarkable, that in ver. 10th, the promise of ver. 3d, *αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* returns. This must have excited surprise even in ancient times, for, as Clemens Alexr. says:^b *Τινὲς τῶν μετατιθέντων τὰ εὐαγγέλια,*^c read in

^a See Addison's Truth of the Christian Religion.

^b Strom. l. iv. p. 49.

^c We are certainly, with Mill, Lardner, and others, to understand, by this expression, not writers of marginal notes, but Apochryphal gospels.

ver. 10th, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἔσονται τέλειαι, and in ver. 11th, ὅτι ἔξουσιν τόπον, ὅπου οὐ διωχθήσονται. Grotius proposed to take the βασιλεία of the 3d ver. in the sense of *doctrina cœlestis*, and here, in that of *regnum cœleste*, or, as Calov more properly expressed it, in the former case as *regnum gratiæ*, in the present, as *regnum gloriæ*. Such a separation of the meanings of the same word is, however, inadmissible. Olshausen endeavours to make out that the first βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν does not indicate an inferior degree, but comprehends in one all that the other promises express. We do not, however, require to have recourse to this somewhat artificial supposition. If the seven beatitudes, up to the 9th verse, form a complete whole, there was no longer any reason for avoiding a repetition, provided that the promise, as is here actually the case, corresponded with the beatitude, for the βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν includes the μισθὸς πολὺς.

In the 11th verse the general term δεδιωγμένοι is specificated into *open insult, actual persecution, and secret slander*. The supplement ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ is full of import. All the reviling and persecution which he suffers, does not fall upon the Christian for his Master's sake; because, inasmuch as the fellowship in which each individual believer lives with the Saviour, is merely in a state of growth, and a war still goes on within him, it follows of course that sin also exists; and Peter, 1 Ep. iii. 9—14, admonishes Christians to give no just cause for persecution. Still, however, John xv. 18—21 avers, that the reason of the persecution of Christians is not the *ungodly*, but the *godly* element in their character. It may be asked, whether, along

with the ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ, the ψευδόμενοι be not superfluous? If ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ and ἔνεκεν δικαιοσύνης be taken in the same sense as διὰ δικαιοσύνην, 1 Pet. iii. 14,^a so that it becomes synonymous with the ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἐστέ, John xv. 19, the ψευδόμενοι, beyond all doubt, is superfluous, because a persecution to which we are subjected for the sake of *good*, must ever be founded on *falsehood*. Still, however, the ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ may assign the more remote occasion, and Christ's meaning be, "when, in consequence of your connection with me and righteousness, false accusations are brought against you." Thus understood, the saying admits the possibility that the accusations may be true; for the world in general is sharp-sighted in detecting the positive faults of Christians. There is little likelihood, however, that Christ meant strictly to express this latter thought; and, in point of fact, ψευδόμενοι is wanting in Codex D, in Origen, and in several of the Latin Fathers; while the Syriac version, and several codices, introduce it in a different order, *i. e.* after ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ.^b We hence cannot but be disposed to regard ψευδόμενοι as a gloss.

Our Saviour exhorts his followers not only to

^a Compare the contrast of the μορὰ διὰ Χριστοῦ with the ironical φρόνιμοι ἐν Χριστῷ, 1 Cor. iv. 10.

^b Origen, however, cannot be quoted with certainty, for the omission of the ψευδόμενοι. In his Comment. upon Jeremias xx. 8, ἐγενήθη λόγος κυρίου εἰς ὀνειδισμὸν ἐμοί, he quotes our text as a parallel, and then says: ἡμεῖς οἱ τάλαντες ἔχομεν ὀνειδισμοὺς, διὰ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἡμῶν; in contrast with the ἡμῶν, it was of consequence for him to bring forward the ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ in the words of Christ, and had he appended ψευδόμενοι, the antithesis would have been weakened.

be comforted under such reviling, but even to give way to joy and exultation; of which, in Acts v. 41, we find a practical exemplification. The ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, more forcible than χαίρειν, (they are conjoined in the same way, Tob. xiii. 13,) reminds of the καυχᾶσθαι ἐν θλίψεσι of Paul. With respect to οὐρανοί, compare the observations at ver. 3 on βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. The reward is *laid up* in heaven; compare the τὴν ἐλπίδα τὴν ἀποκειμένην ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, Col. i. 5; 2 Tim. iv. 8; 1 Pet. i. 4. We have here one of the numerous texts, in which *reward* is promised to Christians; see also ver. 46; vi. 1, 2; Luke vi. 35; Matt. x. 41; 1 Cor. iii. 14. Now, as Scripture, on the other hand asserts, in so many passages, the impossibility of being justified by works, there is need for a remark to reconcile the apparent discrepancy. Against the meritoriousness, more especially of sufferings, which the Romish church have deduced from such texts as the present, our polemical divines chiefly brought forward, Rom. viii. 18, where the Apostle says, that the sufferings of Christians are not worthy to be compared with the future glory, and James v. 11, where Job's reward is ascribed to the pity of the Lord for him. In general, the answer, according to the *analogia fidei*, is 1. That not the ἔργα νόμου, but the ἔργα ἀγαθά, are pure and godly works, and for the performance of these, faith on the redemption and power of Christ is requisite. Hence Augustine: Nil Deus in nobis præter sua opera coronat. 2. Even in the case of the Christian the ἔργα ἀγαθά are so disproportionate with the requirements of God, that they by no means

suffice to satisfy rigid justice, so that the reward which God adjudges him is vouchsafed not κατ' ὀφείλημα, but κατὰ χάριν. It is a χάρισμα, and not an ὀψώνιον; Compare Rom. vi. 23. Hence, when it is affirmed, Heb. vi. 10, that God “will not forget their work and labour of love,” seeing that he is not ἄδικος, that ἄδικος is equivalent to ἄπιστος, and the Apostle means that God will be *faithful to the promises* which he has made to the disciples of Christ. Augustine: Deus est debitor noster non ex commissio, sed ex promisso. On this point, as well as upon the question: An sit justorum intuitu mercedis vitæ cœlestis facere bona opera? Spanheim's Dubia 87 and 88, furnish the necessary information, stated with briefness and solidity. So does the 20th Article of the Conf. August. and the Apol., Œpinus de Præmiis bonorum operum, i. 154, and Chemnitz' Examen Concilii Trident. loc. de meritis operum.

Christ annexes a reason, why his disciples should rejoice and expect a rich recompense. It is, that in the same way, the old prophets had been persecuted, and how dear they were to God, and how great their reward in heaven, is well known (Heb. xi. 26.). Now, although it be unquestionable that our Saviour here compares his μαθηταί with the prophets of the Old Testament, it would not be proper to conclude from that, that he only speaks of them. In a certain degree, every Christian comes like a prophet upon the stage of a world, which is in arms against him. What a treasure of comfort must the Apostles have found in that allusion! How does it steel the courage to have comrades in the war of afflictions!

What although it was not to the present but to the past that they required to look for them; is not the combat, is not the triumph in which it is at last to terminate, the same? The little timorous band of the Nazarene may join the ranks of that CLOUD of witnesses, as in Heb. xii. 1, they are called, who, in the struggle for an invisible world, have sacrificed all that men value upon this earth. How animating is the consciousness of fighting in fellowship with so great a company of the children of light! And how much more encouraging than it even was at first is the exhortation of our Saviour for Christians at the present day, when they can look back upon the augmented hosts, who, placing their confidence upon it, have joyfully met death! In 1 Thes. ii. 14, Paul likewise uplifts the afflicted heathen Christians, by reminding them of the communion of sufferers, and points to the persecutions which the brethren of Palestine, equally with the prophets, endured from their own countrymen.

It still remains to speak upon the import of several words. As the 11th verse is nothing else than the 10th under a special form, it may seem surprising that the more general διώκειν should again recur. Beza, Pricæus and Raphelius have accordingly assigned to it, both here and at ver. 44th, the narrower classical signification of *persequi judicio*, of which we have an instance in the frequently occurring ὁ διώκων and ὁ φεύγων of the Greek orators; contrasting with which, ὀνειδίζειν, they say, refers to *insults in private life*, although others give to it likewise a juridical sense. There can be no doubt that Christ speaks in greater detail, Matt. x. 17—20, of the judicial accu-

sations of his disciples. But, to say nothing of other reasons, it is enough to overthrow this apprehension of the meaning of the word, that the classical use of it is unknown to the Evangelists. They employ instead *κατηγορεῖν*, which must have been very current in the popular language, seeing that the terms קטרנ, מקטרנ, קטיגור and also סניגור = *συνήγορος*, occur frequently with the Rabbins. In ver. 12th *διώκειν* is again employed in its general sense. Comp. 1 Cor. iv. 12, where *λοιδορεῖν* and *διώκειν* appear side by side.

Moreover, we have to remark upon *πονηρὸν ἔημα*, that Codices B. and D, several versions, and particularly the Vulgate, omit *ἔημα*, probably because they looked upon it as superfluous. (Comp. Acts xxviii. 21.) While other Cod. again, leave out *πονηρὸν*. Neither, however, can be dispensed with; because *εἰπεῖν πονηρὸν ἔημα* is a Hebraic phrase; and *ἔημα*, joined to *πονηρὸν*, is in the LXX. the translation of the Hebrew דבר, Num. xiv. 36. Compare the synonymous *κραταιοῦν λόγον πονηρὸν*, Ps. lxiv. 5, and *ἐπιφέρειν τινὶ λόγον πονηρὸν*, Judith viii. 8. In these texts, some translate *speech*, others *thing*. The fact is, this is a case in which the two senses, originally identical, merge into each other.^a

Πάν means not, as the Vulgate and Erasmus trans-

^a The consciousness of the objectivity of the word and idea is, in most languages, expressed in this, that *word* and *thought* and *thing* are signified by the same term: In Greek *λόγος* and *ἔημα*, in Hebrew דבר, in Chaldee מלתא and פתגם. In German *Ding*, derived from *Denken*, is synonymous with *das Gedachte*, *Sache* with *das Gesachte*.

late, *omne* malum verbum; but *cujusvis generis* criminationes, as Luther correctly expresses it.

GENERAL VIEW OF V. 13—16.

Importance of the disciples of Christ to the human race in their state of alienation from God; for which reason it behoves them not to withdraw from the world. The transition is thus stated by Chrysostom and Augustine: "I have made known the severe persecutions which await you, but you must endure them stedfastly, for yours is a high calling." The magnitude of the Christian vocation is pourtrayed by two figures, SALT and LIGHT. Then follow two others, which shew that whoever has such a vocation, must necessarily go forth into the world.

V. 13. In order to judge in what respects the Saviour here applies the image of *salt*, we must call to memory the light in which salt was regarded by the ancients in general, and more especially by the Hebrews, and what symbolical meaning was assigned to it.

In the first place, salt was, in the eyes of antiquity, a noble and highly esteemed substance. It denotes proverbially one of the most *indispensable necessities of life*. Nil sole et sale utilius, said the Roman proverb, (Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxi. 9, comp. 41). So also in Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 32. The *καλὸν τὸ ἄλας* of Mark ix. 50 is to the same effect. Homer confers upon it the epithet *θεῖον*, and Plato calls it *θεοφιλὲς σῶμα*,^a whether, on account of its utility, or of the sacred significance which we shall soon mention, is uncertain. In the east, the mutual use of salt is, as is known, the

^a Timæus Steph. p. 69.

seal of covenants (ברית מלח); which also imparted to it a peculiar distinction. In the first instance, then, this figure awakens the idea, that Christ's disciples constitute a *noble* and *indispensable* element in the world.

Many go no farther than this consideration. Salt, however, offers manifold other points of resemblance.^a Its whiteness makes it an image of *purity*. Purior salillo, says the Latin proverb, and in Persius we read:^b Est tibi far modicum, purum et sine labe salinum. This was also the quality which Pythagoras had in view, when, in the symbolical way of the east, he took salt for an image of *justice*, as Diogenes Laertius recounts, L. viii. segm. 35; περι τῶν ἀλῶν ὅτι δεῖ παρατίθεσθαι πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ δικαίου· οἱ γὰρ ἄλλες πᾶν σώζουσι ὅτι ἂν παραλάβωσι. καὶ γεγόνασιν ἐκ τῶν καθαρῶν ὡτάτων, ὕδατος (ἡλίου) καὶ θαλάττης.

Still more peculiar to salt, however, is its pungent property, by virtue of which, it partly seasons food, (Job vi. 6, with which comp. Isidorus Pelusiota, Epp. L. iv. ep. 49), and partly preserves from corruption, (2 Kings ii. 20, on which text comp. Spanheim Dub. Evan. iii. 457). In one of Plutarch's dialogues, where the ocean and the earth contend which of them is most necessary for the preservation of the life of man, it is said in praise of salt:^c κρέας δὲ πᾶν νεκρὸν ἐστὶ καὶ

^a That the fructifying power of salt is a point of comparison, is maintained by Deyling: But then it is not common salt which is understood (that renders unfruitful), but *alkali* or even *marl*. (Observ. Sacr. i. 204.)

^b Sat. iii. 25.

^c Sympos. v. iv. quæst. 4.

νεκροῦ μέρους ἢ δὲ τῶν ἀλῶν δύναμις ὡσπερ ψυχὴ παραγενομένη χάριν αὐτῷ καὶ ἠδονὴν προστίθησι. Its pun-gent power was the reason of its being taken in Greek and Latin, as a general trope indicative of wit and *esprit*. The *urbani sales*, and the Greek proverb ἄλμη οὐκ ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ are well known. To this meaning approximates very closely, that which the word bears in Col. iv. 6, where it denotes the impressive power of truth, which lies in the speech of the discreet Christian.

The symbolical import, however, assigned to salt in the sacrificial rites of the nations of antiquity is still more profound.^a “Maxime autem,” says Pliny,^b “in *sacris* intelligitur ejus auctoritas, quando nulla conficiantur sine mole salsâ.” Even the οὐλοχύται of the Greeks, according to Eustathius, were offered with salt. Before the use of incense, the simple and oldest kind of sacrifice was, as Ovid describes it in the *Fasti*, i. 337 :

Ante Deos homini quod conciliare valebat,
Far erat et puri lucida mica Salis.

In the Jewish sacrifices, likewise, the necessity of salt was not less absolute than, on the other hand, was the prohibition of leaven and honey (Ex. xxx. 35 ; Lev. ii. 11, 13 ; Ez. xliii. 24). Even, *a priori*, it might be concluded that some symbolical import lay at the foundation of the practice of using salt in oblations, which we

^a See on this subject particularly a Dissertation by Majus, *De Usu Salis Symbolico in rebus sacris*. 1692.

^b *Hist. Nat.* l. iii. c. 7.

thus find amongst nations so various. With the Mosaic sacrifices this is undoubtedly the case. Theodoret speaks well upon the subject, in his introduction to the song of Solomon, where he treats of the allegories of the Old Testament, among which he comprehends the symbols. With reference to Ezek. xvi. he there says :^a τὸ ἄλας τὴν πνευματικὴν σύνεσιν καὶ τὴν θεϊαν διδασκαλίαν (σημαίνει), τὴν διασφύρουσαν τὰ σεσηπότεα καὶ σῶα φυλάττουσαν. In like manner, Origen^b in Hom. vi. on Ez. xvi. 4 ; he compares therewith Matt. v. 13. and Col. iv. 6, and says : Grande opus est insaliri ; Qui sale conditur gratiâ plenus est. Von Meyer, in his Treatise upon the Old Testament Types,^c has lately too expressed himself very beautifully upon the same rite. But we also find the symbolical signification of the rite, and at the same time of salt in general, comprehended in that profound saying of the Saviour's, Mark ix. 49, which commentators have so greatly tortured. What salt there, and in this our text imports, Theophylact, even in his day, expressed with brevity and truth : τὸ ἄλας, ἡγουν τὴν νόστιμον χάριν τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ συνετικὴν. So also Macarius : τὸ ἄλας ἐπουράνιον, ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ. On Luke xiv. 34, Theophylact says : τὸ ἄλας ἄσηπτον μένον καὶ ἀβλαβες καὶ ἕτερα διαφυλάττει ἄσηπτα, οἷς ἀνμεταδῶ τῆς ποιότητος. Christ, in the saying to which we have alluded, proceeds upon the general command under the Old Testament, where, by divine appointment, every sacrifice was to be salted with salt. In the new kingdom of God, in which all the outward rites of the former pass into something inward, the

^a Opp. T. ii. p. 11.^b Opp. T. iii.^c Blätter für Höhere Wahrheit. Neue Folge, ii. s. 49.

spiritual sacrifice is the soul of man. For this there is also a spiritual salt, yea, a fire that salteth—for fire still more forcibly denotes the quickening, stain-destroying power of salt—and that spiritual salt is the Spirit of God. These words, accordingly, contain precisely the same sense as that which the Baptist expresses, Mat. iii. 11.

A medicinal application of salt to new-born infants, is mentioned, Ez. xvi. 14, of which Galen also speaks, as a means to dry and constrict the skin. Perhaps, however, the prophet here interpreted the practice symbolically, which he might very readily have done, and which both ancient and modern expositors of the text have supposed him to do.

In conclusion, we have still to call to remembrance the symbolical use of salt in Christian baptism. After a *benedictio salis*, it was put into the child's mouth, with the words: *Accipe sal sapientiæ in vitam eternam*. This custom may doubtless have arisen independently of the Jewish worship; still, however, we may also suppose a transference of the practice alluded to by Ezekiel, which Augusti, is disposed to do.^a

Among the Rabbins, also, salt occurs tropically, to denote that savour of human actions which makes them well-pleasing to God; *e. g.* “To *salt* his riches with the salt of alms.”^b

Which of these points of comparison is the one which the Saviour had in his eye, in the passage before us, will be determined most accurately by following the symbolical sense it bears in most other biblical passages.

^a Denkwürdigkeiten, B. vii. s. 300.

^b Buxtorf, *Lex Talm.* p. 1213.

The point of comparison lies in the *seasoning, fire-like* power of salt, and mankind is contemplated as the spiritual *sacrifice* which, in order to be pleasing to God, must be salted in a spiritual way, just as the sacrifice, under the Old Testament, was with material salt. Without this spiritual salt of repentance and faith, emanating from the disciples of Christ, mankind become the prey of a moral corruption, and are incapable of presenting themselves as a sacrifice to God. Γῆ, in like manner, as afterwards κόσμος, denoting *the entire human race*, here, at the very commencement of Christ's labours points to the universality of the Christian truth. What must an unbelieving, cool reasoning spectator have said, if, on this occasion, he had beheld the Jewish country-Rabbi surrounded by the twelve fishermen and publicans, whom he had just chosen for his associates, and had heard him say to them, "Ye are for mankind labouring by nature under a moral corruption, and involved in darkness, what salt and sun-light are in the material world?" Well might even they, of whom the words were spoken, look up to him as they listened, not knowing what to think. But when the spirit came to lead them into all truth, the slumbering seed was quickened.

This is one of the passages of the sermon on the Mount, as we already hinted in the introduction, which many have referred exclusively to the Apostles; and certainly, as we there said, such declarations are true, in the first instance, of them: They likewise, however, apply to every individual who is in the same degree filled with the Spirit. For if our Saviour here styles the Apostles τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου, Paul speaks,

Phil. ii. 15, in a similar manner of all Christians: "ἵνα γένησθε ἀμεμπτοὶ καὶ ἀκέραιοι, τέκνα Θεοῦ ἀμώματα ἐν μέσῳ γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διστραμμμένης, ἐν οἷς φαίνεσθε ὡς φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ. From an experimental sense of its truth, and with animated expression, does the author of the epistle to Diognetus declare, that what Christ says of the Apostles applies to all, when, in a glowing comparison, he points out how Christians are for the whole world, what the soul is for the dead carcass of the body.^a

The remainder of this saying requires that the sense of the words be first determined. Μωρός among the Greek botanists and physicians, as Hippocrates and Dioscorides, is the proper *terminus technicus* for *tastelessness*. The word is related to μῶλυσ, μωλυρός, which means *weak, faint*, and was afterwards, like the terms signifying *blunt* in several languages, transferred to things spiritual, (so ἀμβλύς, in the Hebrew פֶּלַת, חֶלֶת, and in Italian *mat'o* from the German *matt*), and signifies *flat*. The Vulgate has incorrectly rendered *evanuerit*; Valla *desipuerit*; Erasmus and Beza most accurately, *infatucri*.^b The signification of the word is,

^a See the noble epistle to Diognetus, found among the works of Justin Martyr.

^b Fatuus is, in Latin, the botanical *terminus technicus* for the Greek μωρός. With respect to the etymology, the derivative process is not, as many have supposed, here reversed, viz. that fatuus, derived from fari, was synonymous with garrulus, and by a transference from what is spiritual to what is sensible, means *bluntness*. It is a sufficient objection to this, that the *a* in fatuus is short, whereas in fari it is long. Fatuus is much rather allied with fatiscere = χαῦνος.

besides, however, ascertained by Mark ix. 50, where there stands ἀναλος.

We have also to determine what is the subject to ἀλισθήσεται. Is it again the *salt*, or is it *food*? In the latter case, the passage would be a proverb similar to that of the Greeks: ὅταν τὸ ὕδωρ πνίγει, τί ἐπιζῆρορήσομεν? Or one might compare Matt. vi. 23, “When that which by nature is light, is dark, how much more shall that which by nature is darkness, and should be enlightened by the light, be darkened!” According to this apprehension of the meaning did Luther translate, in the edition of 1538, for previously it was: was kann man damit salzen; but in so doing, he has scarcely been followed in a single instance, with the exception of the Dutch version, which originally had: “Waarmde zal men dan zouten.” In the newer editions, however, *het* has been substituted for *dan*. The Peschito, and the Persian version in the London Polyglott, which was prepared from it, have both, with equal decision, taken salt itself as the subject. The translation of the Vulgate: in quo salietur, is ambiguous; but the Latin fathers, Augustine and Jerome, and the translations which have descended from the Vulgate, the Spanish and Italian, also consider salt as the subject. This view of the meaning, in which even the stricter adherents of the Lutheran version concurred, is confirmed, in the first place, by Mark ix. 50; But, should it be said, that there is here another application of the image, that is what in our text could not be proved, but rather the very contrary of it is demonstrated by the fact, that the conclusion, “It is good for nothing but to be cast out,” and so on, must apply to the

salt. It is only for curiosity's sake, that we quote the interpretation of Lomeier, who, both after the ἀλισθήσεται in Matt. and also in the conclusion, insists that Palestine is to be understood as the subject.

But considerations, derived from natural history, have also drawn some aside into peculiar views. The doubt has been started, whether, in general, salt ever can lose its saline virtue? Chemically, it certainly does, when it comes into contact with such substances as acids, which separate it into two elements. In our text, however, we can only think of something which occurs in common life; and, seeing that in common life there is no example of the phenomenon, several have wished to understand by τὸ ἄλας, some other thing than salt. Von der Hardt, who abounds in strange opinions, supposed ^a *Asphaltos*, or *Jew's pitch*, and thence he derived a peculiar application of the similitude; for as Asphaltos is a substance of an adhesive nature, he took up the meaning, "Ye cement the world together; ye are the peace-makers." This opinion of Von der Hardt was adopted by Schöttgen, in whose train many of the learned followed. Schöttgen, who wished to give another turn to the figure, saw himself forced to make the assertion, that the inhabitants of Palestine actually salted with asphaltos, the salt of the Dead Sea existing only in that form. A refutation of the opinion, which Schöttgen's authority had already induced many to espouse, is to be found in the learned Treatises of J. D. Michaelis, de Mari mortuo, de nitro Plinii, de

^a Ephemerides Philolog. dissert. xi.

nitro Hebr. According to some, as *e. g.* Calmet, *Potash*, according to others, as Altman and Kuinöl,^a *Salt-petre* is meant. In order to abide by the common explanation, many, of whom MacKnight was the first, sheltered themselves behind the extract from Maundrell's journey, who relates that in the plains of Aleppo he actually found salt which had lost its savour. In this particular instance, however, a chemical decomposition might have been effected by the heat of the sun. Upon the whole, it will therefore be most correct to abide by what daily experience teaches us. We call salt insipid, not merely when it has entirely lost its saline flavour, but when, in consequence of exposure to the weather, it has acquired a stale and bitter taste.

The ἔξω βάλλειν denotes to *cast out of doors*, and καταπατεῖν, to *treat with contempt*.^b The εἰς οὐδὲν ἰσχύει is further particularized at Luke xiv. 35. In some respects, Ezek. xv. 2—4 is parallel. It is quite inapplicable when Schöttgen brings authorities from the Rabbins to prove that salt was sometimes scattered upon slippery places, and thinks that there is here an allusion to the practice. Even that would still be an ἰσχύειν εἰς τι.

We now turn to the application of these words to the sphere of things spiritual. In connection with them, the question has been broached, whether they teach

^a Observ. Miscell. c. iii.

^b Bengel on the passage: Procul ab omni usu œconomico—καὶ adeoque—καταπατεῖσθαι, nil tritius est, quam qui vult divinus haberi, ac non est—ab hominibus obviis quibusque; hæc τῶν articuli vis.

the possibility of a *lapsus finalis sanctorum*.^a To furnish a decisive proof of that doctrine, *μωρόν* and *ἀναλ.ον* in Mark ix. 50, would require to be taken absolutely, whereas we have seen that, in popular language, the word is only a designation *ex parte potiori*. Hence, when it is transferred to spiritual things, the similitude does not correspond with the *lapsus finalis*, but denotes that condition of spiritual torpor in which the Christian is disqualified for awakening others. And, supposing the absolute sense to be insisted on, the opponent of the doctrine might appeal to the fact, that salt of itself never does entirely lose its flavour.

One might feel tempted to assign to the *ἔξω βληθῆναι* and *καταπατεῖσθαι* a very special signification. The comparison of the *ἐκκλησία* with an *οικία* (1 Tim. iii. 15) is well known, and might, of itself, suggest the supposition, that here exclusion from communion with the church was meant. To which we must also add, that *ἐκβάλλειν ἐκκλησίας* is the ecclesiastical *terminus technicus* for excommunication, interchangeable with *ἐκκόπτειν τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, *ἀποβάλλειν*, *ῥίπτειν ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, used of expulsion from the synagogue, []^b. *Καταπατεῖν* is elsewhere, like *calcere* and *concalcere*, a tropical designation for *haughty contemptuous treatment*. But in this case also, we may suppose an allusion to a custom, subsisting to this day among Jews, according to which, the returning apostate must lie down at the threshold of the synagogue, and permit the entering

^a See Spanheim, *Dubia Evang.* iii. No. 93.

^b According to Vitranga, whom Lücke follows, this sense also has place at Joh. ix. 34, 35, where, indeed, verse 25 makes it probable.

members to step over him. The βάλλειν ἔξω actually was, in the ancient church, referred to the expulsion of apostates, in the sense of ἀφοσιῖζειν; and ecclesiastical history furnishes us with a historical parallel to the interpretation now stated, in the anecdote of the worthless rhetorician Hekebolios, the tutor of Julian, who was a Christian under Constantine, became a Heathen under his pupil, and, after his death, was reconverted to Christianity. Being subjected to ecclesiastical penance, he cast himself upon the ground at the door of the church, exclaiming: Πατήσατέ με τὸ ἄλλας τὸ ἀναίσθητον.^a But, to apply the καταπατεῖσθαι to returning *apostates* is obviously improper; it is here much rather to be taken generally, as denoting *contumelious treatment*.^b On the other hand, there cannot be a doubt that βάλλειν ἔξω points to the ἐκβάλλειν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας, John vi. 37; Luke xiii. 28; Matt. viii. 12; xxii. 13; and, considering that the words of Christ — “Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven,” apply to exclusion from the church, in every case where that is the genuine effect of the common spirit which reigns in it, and hence that every such exclusion from the kingdom of Christ upon earth, provided it be the work of the Spirit, coincides with exclusion from the kingdom of Christ in heaven, it follows that the *cast-*

^a This trait is mentioned by Suidas, s. v. Ἡεκεβόλιος, who has borrowed it from Socrates' Hist. Eccles. L. iii. c. 13.

^b Augustine makes the beautiful observation: Non itaque calcatur ab hominibus qui *patitur* persecutionem, sed qui persecutionem *timendo infatuatur*. Calcari enim non potest nisi inferior; sed inferior non est, qui, quamvis corpore multa in terra sustinuit, corde tamen fixus in cælo est.

ing out refers implicitly to extrusion from the church terrestrial. To sum up, accordingly, the meaning of the entire saying: "What salt is for food and sacrifices, that are ye in respect of mankind; without you, they are subject to moral corruption, and only through your means can they become an acceptable oblation to God. If you yourselves, however, lose the firelike seasoning quality of the Spirit, in what way shall you ever recover it? Unfit for the uses of the Divine economy, ye shall be cast out, and trodden under foot."

V. 14, 15. SALT denoted the new POWER OF LIFE which the disciples of Christ impart to the world, the other image LIGHT, denotes the new POWER OF KNOWLEDGE. In an absolute sense, Christ is the $\phi\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$ τοῦ κόσμου, John viii. 12; ix. 5; xii. 35; that means, he is for the κόσμος νοητός, what the $\phi\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, John xi. 9, is for the κόσμος αἰσθητός, the fountain of true knowledge. His followers, entering into fellowship with him, are through him also a $\phi\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$, $\phi\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$ ἐν κυρίῳ, Eph. v. 8. υἱοὶ φωτός, 1 Thes. v. 5, λύχνοι, as the Baptist is called, John v. 35, and as Paul says φωστῆρες, Philip. ii. 15; hence they are soon also styled λύχνοι. As these candles, however, burn by his light, it may likewise be said of them, as the channels of the original light, "Ye are the light of the world." It is naturally a miserable enervation of this profound sense, when the saying, after Teller, is interpreted, "Ye are the teachers of religion." Genuine knowledge presupposes a life in the truth which is its object; and hence, in v. 16, light is designated as the fountain of the καλὰ ἔργα.

The loftiness of this vocation of Christ's disciples, based upon the power and insight with which they are endowed, does not, from the nature of the case, permit that they should remain unobserved in the world; on the contrary, the purposes which God has in view with them require, that they should go forth amidst society. ^a This is what the sequel, up to the 16th verse, expresses. It is for this reason that Christ supplicates the Father: "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil." Jerome: Docet fiduciam prædicandi, ne Apostoli abscondantur ob metum, ut, quod audierunt in cubiculis, prædicent in tectis. Mat. x. 27.

As to the figure of a city on a hill, it must be remembered that the discourse was delivered on a height, from which several mountain-towns were to be seen around, but particularly Saphet. If, as many have done, but with little verisimilitude, we take *σημεῖον* at Luke ii. 34, as synonymous with *ἄλμα*, that text would say of the master something precisely similar to what is here said of the disciples; and even although we suppose *σημεῖον* there to mean merely a *miraculous sign*, there still remains a strong similarity. For Christ's disciples too, in as far as they are a city set

^a So Erasmus: Vos esti veluti civitas in edito monte sita, longe lateque conspicua viatoribus. Celari non potest etiamsi cupiat. Hæc ut Evangelicæ doctrinæ natura, *non sinit* sui professores latere, quamvis ipsi famam hominum fugitantes quærant latebras. Cur autem (so opens the transition) abscondatur, quod *in hoc ipsum paratum est*, ut ex æquo prosit omnibus?

on a hill, are a σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον; to some, an ὄσμη θανάτου; to others, an ὄσμη ζωῆς.

Λύχνος is a *Lamp*, which was wont to be fixed upon the λυχνία or λυχνοῦχος. Owing to the want of tables in the East, the lights were placed upon the ground. When it was wished to darken the apartment, and yet, at the same time, not to extinguish the light, the way was, to cover it with some object, usually a measure for corn, which was found in every *menage* (τὸν μόδιον, with the definite article to mark its being a common piece of furniture, like ἡ λυχνία.) The same practice is noticed by Fulgentius, Mytholog. 3, 6: Novaculam sub pulvinar abscondit, lucernamque modio contegit, and afterwards; Lucernaque modii custodia eruta. Luke has commonly: καλύπτει αὐτὸν σκεύει, ἢ ὑποκάτω κλίνης τίθῃσι, Luke viii. 16. Comp. xi. 33.

Among ancient commentators, we find numerous mystical interpretations of these words. According to Hilary, the civitas is the human body of Christ, and the hill, his divine nature. Augustine makes the hill *insignis justitia*, and the modius, *curæ temporales*. The candlestick is, by many, thought to mean *the apostolical vocation*.

Among the Romanists, Salmero, Bellarmine and others, cited this saying, in order to demonstrate the necessity of a visible church, and therein the translation of the Vulgate came to their aid; for it has rendered πόλις by *civitas*, and that is synonymous with *respublica ecclesiastica*. This argument Spanheim controverts, III. Dubium 96.

V. 16. The purpose for which the candle is placed

upon the candlestick is more precisely stated. What is here delivered as command, provided Christians do not withdraw from the world, nor lose the divine power which dwells in them, results of itself, from the very nature of their character.^a The *undesigned* character of the shining, is, in some degree, involved in the ἔμ-προσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, the ray of light strikes of *its own accord* upon the eye. The καλὰ ἔργα are the fruits of the light, which is here viewed as likewise vital power. They presuppose the inward man to be already renewed, as it is only the good tree which can bring forth good fruit, Matt. vii. 17. Hence Olshausen justly observes, that the ἔργα καλὰ form an antithesis not merely to ἔργα πονηρά, but also to ἔργα νεκρά. Although the manifestation of the works be required for the purpose of their being seen of men, this is by no means contradictory to the 5th verse of chap. vi. For while that, and likewise verse 1st, represent the θεαθῆναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, as the chief end for which they are done; here it is but the secondary, the chief being ὅπως δοξάσωσι τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν. This is nervously expressed by Bengel: Non vos sed opera vestra. The final purpose of the glorification of man in God, is the glorification of God in and by man. The paternal name here bestowed upon the divine Being, is not without significance: He with whom disciples stand in so intimate a connection is the fountain from which the καλὰ ἔργα flow.

There is no discrepancy involved in the statement

^a With great point, Euthymius: λαμψάτω εἰπὼν οὐ κλειύει θεοπατρίζειν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλ' ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὴν, εἰαυτοῖαν ἀρ' ἐσθῆος γάμψειν καὶ ἐκρυπτεῖν δημοσιεύειν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μύρου φύσιν.

made about the world persecuting them out of hatred to the *δικαιοσύνη* and to Christ, with what is now said of the splendour of the light attracting the eyes of men : For there are always some won over from the world ; and, moreover, Chrysostom declares with truth, even of the persecutors : *κατὰ τὸ συνειδὸς ἡμᾶς θαυμάσονται καὶ ἀποδέξονται, ὥστερ οἷν οἱ φανερώς κολακεύοντες τοὺς ἐν πονηρίᾳ ζῶντας, κατὰ νοῦν διαβάλλουσι.*^a

v. 17—48.

RELATION IN WHICH CHRIST STOOD TO THE OLD TESTAMENT LAW, AND TO THE CARNAL VIEWS TAKEN OF IT, BY THE CARNAL ISRAELITES.

V. 17. How is it that Christ comes to handle the subsequent theme? Were there, indeed, among the people, as the *μὴ νομίσητε* seems to hint, persons who supposed and expected that his design was to overthrow the whole ancient constitution? Judging from human nature and the lessons of history, this may be easily imagined. Even at the time of the Reformation, there were many who looked for a total subversion of Christianity. Here and there an individual of deeper reflection might be led, by the very promise of a *new* covenant, different from the one made with their fathers, Jer. xxxi. 32, to anticipate a total transformation of the law, an event to which the following Rabbinical saying alludes : “ In the days of

^a In their conscience, they will admire and approve you just as the open flatterers of wicked men condemn them in their hearts.

the Messiah, the unclean shall be clean, and the forbidden allowed." On the other hand, however, we find from the evangelical history, that although the people themselves might not have taken up this idea, still the malicious enemies of Christ endeavoured to propagate it, and used various arts to represent him as a contemner of the Mosaic law. Calvin very justly observes: *Simul ac emergit nova aliqua docendi ratio, id perinde vulgus arripit ac si rerum omnium conversio fieret; Talis autem erat Evangelii predicatio (sicuti nuper attigi) ut spem faceret aliter constituendæ Ecclesiæ quam prius fuerat. Putabant igitur vetus et usitatum regimen aboleri; quæ opinio multis modis valde noxia erat; pii enim Dei cultores nunquam Evangelium amplexi essent, si fuisset a Lege defectio; Leves autem et turbulenti spiritus, ansa arrepta, totum religionis statum convellere cupide aggressi essent; scimus enim quam proterve in rebus novis exultet temeritas. Ad hæc Christus plerosque ex Judæis, tametsi profitebantur se Legi credere, videbat tamen profanos esse ac degeneres; sic enim res collapsæ erant in populo illo, tantis corruptelis referta erant omnia, adeo puram doctrinæ lucem sua socordia vel malitia extinxerant sacerdotes, ut non magna amplius Legis reverentia vigeret. Quod si allatum fuisset novæ doctrinæ genus, quod Legi et prophetis fidem abrogaret, misere concussa fuisset religio. Hæc prior videtur fuisse ratio cur negaret Christus se venisse ad solvendam Legem, quod licet ex contextu etiam colligere, nam confirmationis vice mox subjicit, fieri non posse ut vel unus*

apex ex Lege excidat, et eos doctores maledicit qui non fideliter laborant in ejus auctoritate asserenda. Secunda autem ratio fuit, ut pravam calumniam dilueret, qua se apud rudiores et ignaros gravari sentiebat; hanc enim notam ejus doctrinæ inustam a scribis inde apparet, quod statim in ipsos invehitur. Luther: "Just as the Pope and his crew raise an outcry and rail against us as heretics, who forbid good works."

A direct connection with the preceding words cannot be properly traced. Chrysostom supposes the intention on the part of our Saviour to evade the suspicion which the lofty precepts delivered in the sequel might excite, viz. that he aimed at the subversion of the old constitution. The author of the *Opus Imperfectum*, whom Maldonatus joins, supposes ingeniously, but with proportional improbability, that the discourse is here linked to the preceding mention of the *καλὰ ἔργα*, and that Christ intends to affirm that he requires *καλὰ ἔργα*, inasmuch as he was come to impart additional strictness to the Mosaic law. It would be juster to say, that the *Introitus* extends as far as ver. 16th, and that now follows the argumentum which he had originally in view. The 17th verse, and no less the one which follows, is singularly pregnant in meaning, and, even in the infancy of the church, was deemed of high doctrinal importance. It is the saying which the orthodox fathers chiefly brought forward against the antijudaizing Gnostics. Marcion, in his ordinary way, helped himself but badly out of the difficulty, by altering the words. The *Ἰουδαῖοι*, he says, had vitiated the text, which originally read: *Τί*

δοκεῖτε; ὅτι ἤλθον πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφήτας; ἤλθον καταλῦσαι, ἀλλ' οὐ πληρῶσαι.^a Against the Manichees, who from the *πλήρωσις*, which Christ here gives of the law, argued that it was imperfect, Augustine contends with great address,^b and also Theodoret.^c On the other hand, again, Christians are hard pushed with this same saying, by heathens, Jews and Deists, inasmuch as all Christendom, in contravention of the original commandment of Christ, have invalidated the Old Testament law. This objection we find urged by Julian,^d in the Talmud,^e in R. Isaak's Chissen Emuna, or defence of the Jewish faith,^f by Toland, in his Nazarene, and by the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist, Vom Zweck Jesu, § 7. It is controverted by Bialloblotzky, De Legis Mosaicæ Abrogatione, Gott. 1824. and by Tobler, Gedanken zur Ehre Iesu, s. 63. With great solidity does Spanheim also discuss this verse, Dubium 105—118, and clears up its apparent contradiction with other texts, especially Mat. xi. 13. Before we unfold the rich doctrinal matter which the saying contains, we must say somewhat in illustration of the meaning of particular words.

Νόμος καὶ προφῆται denotes, in the Jewish *usus loquendi*, the whole compass of the written word, together with all the institutions which reposed upon

^a Isidorus Pelusiota, Ep. i. 371. Origen Dialogus de recta Fide, sect. 2, p. 830, Tom. i. ed. de la Rue. Tertullian Contra Marc. iv. 9; iv. 36.

^b Con. Faustum. l. ix. 6—28; l. xvii. 6.

^c Hæret. fab. comp. l. v. opp. Tom. iv. p. 435.

^d Neander's Kirchengesch. ii. l. s. 190.

^e Trac. Schabbath, f. 116, 2. ^f C. 19, ed. Wagens.

it; c. vii. 12; xxii. 40; Luke xvi. 16; Acts xiii. 15; Rom. iii. 21. This compendious designation was so much the more proper, as, in fact, *Law* and *Prophecy* constituted the real component parts of the Old Testament economy; the law, awakening the feeling of a want of salvation; the prophets, intimating that that want should one day be supplied. *Νόμος ἢ προφῆται*, which stands in our text, was taken as synonymous with *νόμος καὶ προφῆται*, ἢ being in many cases equivalent to *καὶ*. The canon, which declares the equivalence of these conjunctions, assumes in the text 1 Cor. xi. 27, even doctrinal importance, inasmuch as the Romish divines founded upon the ἢ, which is there used, the lawfulness of withholding the cup from the laity in the Eucharist; while protestants again, upon the ground of the identity of ἢ and *καὶ*, contested this inference. Even in remoter times, on the other hand, had protestants also maintained that ἢ never loses its peculiar significance,^a and more lately, Dr. Fritzsche in particular, at this place, and in the Commentary to Mark, p. 277, has demonstrated the fact at greater detail against Schleusner and Kuinöl.^b It is true that ἢ is never precisely equivalent to *καὶ*; still it is in many passages a matter of indifference whether we use the one or the other—as, for instance, in the 18th verse, which immediately follows—seeing that frequently the ἢ merely ranges

^a Chrysostom repeats the η : ἢ τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφήτας.

^b Even previously to him, Weinel, in his treatise on this text, in Bertholdt's Journal, 1822, B. xiv. s. 22, had declared against this commutation of ἢ and *καὶ*.

the subjects in such a way that the verb applies equally well to the second as to the first. This is the case in all languages: In English, for example, we say "Whoever calumniates the king, *or* the queen," &c. Hence also in the New Testament, and other authors, we find in the Codd. variations of η and $\kappa\alpha\iota$, John viii. 14; 1 Cor. xi. 27; xiii. 1. Xenophon's Memorabilia, L. iv. c. 2, § 36, ed. Borneman. In the present passage, the only difference would be, that if $\kappa\alpha\iota$ be the word, the Old Testament economy is described more in the general. Even this difference, however, again vanishes; for, when we inquire more narrowly, what are the elementary parts of that economy to which Christ gave the $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$, we must again say law and prophecy.

The words $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\ddot{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\iota$ and $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\ddot{\omega}\sigma\alpha\iota$, in the next place, suggest the question, whether, as most translators and expositors have done, we ought at once to supply a pronoun referring back to $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\pi\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota$? or take them absolutely, the way which they themselves seem to suggest, and which Luther and Stolz have followed; the latter rendering: "I am not come to make of none effect, but to complete." As the words lead immediately to this view, and as it gives additional force to the meaning, it is that which we adopt. The Saviour, accordingly, says, "My coming has not a negative, but a positive end: I am come not to do away, but to fulfil." Now, this he has declared, in reference to the Old Testament economy, or, to speak more definitely, in reference to the two elementary parts of which that is composed; and we inquire accordingly, what is the meaning of his words in this view?

Supposing that we do not take them absolutely, but at once supply, as object, τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας, in that case we do not require, in order to fix the sense of the affirmation, to proceed beyond the primary sensible meaning of λῦσαι and πληρῶσαι, but only to shew what signification the common phraseology imparted to these words, when joined to such objects as νόμος and προφῆται. Λύειν and καταλύειν νόμον, both in Hellenistic and classical Greek, are just the same as ἀκυροῦν, Mat. xv. 6; Gal. iii. 17; as καταργεῖν, Rom. iii. 31; iv. 14; and לטב in Rabbinical Hebrew; 2 Macc. ii. 22; iv. 11; Josephus Antiquit. xx. 4. 2.; xviii. 3. 1.; Demosthenes Contra Timocr. p. 700, ed. Reiske: λύει καὶ ποιεῖ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίαν ὁ τουττουὶ νόμος. Πληροῦν νόμον, or ἐντολήν, in Hellenistic, and among the classics, means primarily, *explere legem, peragere quæ sunt officii*; Mat. iii. 15; Acts xii. 25, xiv. 26; Rom. viii. 4; xiii. 8. Herodian, L. iii. c. 11; Epicetetus, L. iv. c. 8;^a and then, proceeding from the trope of filling a measure, to *complete*, Mat. xxiii. 32; Herodian L. i. 5. 25: τό, τε ἐν ἡμῖν νέον σεμνότητος πληρῶσατε τῇ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔργων ἀνδραγαθία. In like manner *implere* in Livy, L. xxxiii. c. 14; in Heb. מלא; in the Talmud מלא. But we must also mention another meaning which many have adopted, viz: *To teach*. It belongs to the Talmudic מלא, and is to be found, Rom. xv. 19, and Col. i. 25, not, however, directly so; for there πληροῦν is joined with λόγον in the sense of to *exercise, put in practice*.

^a In that sense we have also τελεῖν νόμον, Jas. ii. 8.

Καταλύειν, in reference to the prophecies, is to be taken just as in reference to the law, as signifying *to demonstrate that they are null*; comp. John x. 35; Acts v. 38, 39; Jos. de Macc. iv. 24. Πληροῦν applied to prophecy, like מלא, and in later books הלא, signifies also in the classics its fulfilment or verification by the event, Polyæn. Strateg. i. 18: τοῦ λογίου πεπληρωμένου. The Greeks say, as we do in English, τὰς ὑποσχέσεις πληροῦσθαι, Herodian ii. 7, τὰς ἐπαγγελίας πληροῦν, Arrian iii. 23, even τὰς εὐχὰς πληροῦν, Chariton Aphrodis. viii. c. 1. In Latin we have *implere fata, sortem*, Livy x. 7; Curtius iii. 1.

If, however, we take the two words absolutely, we must set out from the sensible meaning, which, in that case, involves the rest. Πληροῦν, מלא originally denote to *fill a measure*, as τελέω הלא do to *reach the τέλος*, or πέρσας, *in the race course*. But inasmuch as reaching the goal, may be conceived as a filling up of the course, and again, in like manner, on the other hand, the filling of a measure may be compared with running the course, the two terms came afterwards in Greek and Hebrew to be interchanged, for instance πληροῦν is used for τελεῖν τὸν δρόμον, Acts xiii. 25, and again τελεῖν and הלא appear for πληροῦν and מלא, signifying the fulfilment of prophecy. This sensible meaning lies at the basis of all the derivatives: a word of command is an empty form, so long as it is not fulfilled by the execution; and so likewise is a prophecy, until its fulfilment by the event. Two other passages of the New Testament give us a convenient opportunity of apprehending more specifically the idea of fulfilment, in reference to painting.

Here it corresponds with the term. techn.: ἀπεργασία, or ζωγραφία, as contrasted with ὑπογραφή, or σκιαγραφία, (which last, however, has originally another sense;) comp. Stallbaum on Plato de Republica, ii. p. 60. In the text, Col. ii. 17, Paul calls the Old Testament the *Shadow*, and the blessings of the New the *Body*. At Heb. x. 1, the νόμος is styled the *shadow*, and the blessings of the New Testament αὐτὴ ἡ εἰκὼν. Comp. Synesius Hom. on Ps. lxxv. 9: "Ἐν γὰρ ἐπνεῦσε πνεῦμα καὶ εἰς προφήτην καὶ εἰς ἀπόστολον καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ζωγράφους πάλαι μὲν ἐσκιαγράφησεν, ἔπειτα μέντοι διηκρίβωσε τὰ μὲν τῆς γνώσεως.^a

After these prefatory remarks, we now approach the inquiry respecting the doctrinal import of the saying. In how far he had fulfilled prophecy Christ makes no more mention, but gives us to understand what he means by fulfilling the νόμος. It is surprising that by far the greatest number of interpreters, as we shall find in the sequel, have understood by the πληροῦν, only the *reform* and *completion* of the law, διόρθωσις, (Heb. ix. 10). The Saviour in ver. 18th speaks of a γενέσθαι, in ver. 19th of a ποιεῖν of the νόμος, and in ver. 20th of the defectiveness of the δικαιοσύνη of the γραμματεῖς. It is not until the 23d that we find the sayings, which we might perhaps regard as a compliment of the νόμος, but which ought more correctly to be called an evolution. Considering vers. 18—20, with a regard to the succeeding

^a So also Theophylact: ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἐσκιαγράφησεν, ταῦτα οὗτος τελεῖως ἐζωγράφησεν.

context, and interpreting Christ's meaning by his own words, we must affirm that what he understands under the fulfilment of the law, is that *a deeper insight into its requirements*—and seeing such an insight would be fruitless without practice,—at the same time *a higher and more perfect performance of them* than was hitherto known should be introduced through him. Verse 17th, however, involves even more than this, and Christ has only forborne entering into greater detail in the sequel, because his sole object here was to exhibit the ideal of the righteousness of Christ's kingdom of God. He means likewise cursorily to declare that his entrance into the world was at the same time the *accomplishment of the ancient prophecies*. On the whole, however, we must, in explaining this saying, necessarily apply the canon, laid down at ver. 9th, viz. That the sayings of our Saviour are to be apprehended, not merely in that sense to which the views of his hearers at the time could reach, but in the sense which he himself attached to them. This being established, much will further depend upon whether we ascribe to our Saviour, the circumscribed range of vision belonging to an intelligent Rabbi, or the glance of a divine prophet enabling him to survey the whole progress of his kingdom to the very last. That the latter was really the case, is proved by the manifold disclosures which he made concerning the future—we need only instance the admirable Parables in the 13th chapter of Matthew. If Christ then was aware what effect his appearance upon earth was destined to produce upon the whole history of mankind

until its winding up; if by his spirit operating on humanity, a πλήρωσις of the νόμος and the προφηται has been wrought out, and will be so more and more to the close of all things, as 1 Cor. xv. 28, shews, it follows that the πλήρωσις of which he here speaks, comprehends not merely what his personal appearance once in the history of the past has effected, but likewise all that his spirit, whereby he is still present in the church, shall accomplish in fulfilment of the law and the prophets henceforward to the very end of time. Here then there opens a boundless prospect. First, the *moral* part of the law is unfulfilled, until in primary instance Christ comes to disclose its precepts in their depth, and be the first to yield it full satisfaction; and, further, it continues unfulfilled, in secondary instance, until the time when, as the spirit of the church, he shall, in and through it, realize to its full compass the law of God. Then again, the *ritual* part is unfulfilled, first, until Christ comes, and through the eternal Spirit achieves the spiritual sacrifice of self-oblation,—Heb. ix. 14,—and next, until the period arrive, when through Christ the church shall have perfectly presented itself in sacrifice to God, and realized, in a spiritual manner, the outward Israelitish theocracy, Rom. xii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 9; Rev. i. 6; v. 10; xxi. 22.^a In fine, the *predictions of the prophets*, both those which point to the first personal advent of Christ, and the others which point to the second in the perfection of the church, and which speak of a period when the earth shall be full of the knowledge of

^a Compare the Exposition of ver. 19.

the Lord, as the waters cover the channels of the deep, when the Spirit shall be poured out upon all flesh, and in that day shall there be one Lord, and his name one,—all these remain unfulfilled until the event takes place. The final prospect, accordingly, to which Christ's affirmation looks forward, is that expressed by the Apostle in 1 Cor. xv. 28, the time when God shall be all in all. Then at last shall the feeble outline of futurity, which he vouchsafed to mankind in the period of their *νηπιότης*, have received its full accomplishment. That the Saviour had in his eye the *πλήρωσις*, not merely in so far as that was wrought out by his personal appearance, but in so far as it is brought to pass in and by the church, is shewn undeniably by ver. 18th, where he speaks of the fulfilment of the law, as something which, through the course of all successive centuries, shall still be in a state of growth.

Such being the immeasurable compass of this exalted affirmation, it was to be expected that the different expositors would only seize upon different aspects and rays of it. And, doubtless, this is what has happened, though here in a less degree than might have been anticipated. Much more do the majority of them, down to the latest times, enumerate various particulars, in which the law has been fulfilled through Christ. Even in his early days, Chrysostom thus speaks: *Τὸν δὲ νόμον οὐχ ἐνὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέρῳ καὶ τρίτῳ ἐπλήρωσε τρόπῳ.* He specifies a threefold *πλήρωσις*; 1. Inasmuch as Christ himself fulfilled the law, John iii. 17; viii. 46; xiv. 30. 2. Inasmuch as he fulfils it through us, Rom. x. 4; viii. 3, iii. 31. 3.

Inasmuch as he did not effect an ἀναίρεσις τῶν προτέρων, but, on the contrary, an ἐπίτασις and πλήρωσις.^a Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine,^b Jerome, and others, also speak of a manifold fulfilling of the law, as, in like manner, do the reformers. Melancthon says: "In four ways has the law been fulfilled by Christ; 1. By the obedience he shewed to it in his own behalf; 2. By suffering for us, its penalty; 3. Inasmuch as he fulfils the law in us through the Holy Spirit; 4. Inasmuch as he has confirmed it, and given his testimony to the necessity of keeping it." From the Romish church we quote Maldonatus, who says, Christ fulfilled the law; 1. In his own person, and by enjoining upon his Apostles also compliance with its ceremonial precepts; 2. By rightly interpreting it; 3. By giving us grace to keep it; 4. By realizing in his person the types of the law." In precisely the same way do Protestant expositors, down to the middle of the last century, state various modes in which Christ

^a Augustine expounds this in the passage we have already quoted, c. Faust. Manich. very satisfactorily. He also beautifully observes in the Serm. 126 in Joan. c. v. : Quia venit dare charitatem, et charitas perficit legem, merito dixit, non venisse solvere, sed implere.

^b In the Hom. contra Anomæos X. § 4, he also speaks in great detail upon our text, in order to prove that Christ brought about not a κατάλυσις but a τελείωσις and πλήρωσις τοῦ νόμου. In the Hom. in Joan. v. 19, ed. Montf. T. vi. p. 662, he again takes it up, and regards the sermon on the Mount as a διόρθωσις of the νομοθεσία of the Father. As the Son, however, does all according to the will of the Father, it may also be said that the Father gave us the law of the New, and the Son that of the Old Testament.

fulfilled the law. The Socinians make the only exception. Socinus, Wolzogen and Crell, expound *πληροῦν*, *defectum legis implere*, which was a consequence of one chief article of their doctrine, viz. that Christ had principally distinguished himself by perfectionating the Old Testament. This view which they took of the following section of the sermon on the Mount, was, as we mentioned in the Introduction, p. 52, impugned by the doctrinalists of the evangelical church. The Arminians, Episcopius, and Limborch, incline to the same opinion, while Grotius and Clericus^a taught a more comprehensive meaning of the words. By a partial application of the language of the Rabbins, Vitringa, in the meanwhile, had also been led to form a more superficial conception of them.^b In his opinion, *πληροῦν* is synonymous with *למד*, in the sense of *to teach*, and *λύνειν* means nothing more than *not to teach*. So also Zorn, Hottinger, Schöttgen, Heumann, and some others. The latest interpreters have almost all, with one consent, adopted this interpretation, or decided for the meaning to *complete, explain*. Teller says: "To explain and enforce the law in all its compass;" Bahrdt: "I am come still more to propagate and hallow these primeval doctrines of wisdom and virtue." In a similar way, Döderlein,^c Schuster, Paulus, Gratz, Meyer, and even Usteri.^d In the meanwhile, Morus, in his Treatise de discrim. sensus et signif., had quoted this

^a His Annotation upon the text contains many just remarks.

^b *Observ. Sacræ*, l. v. § 3.

^c *Institutio*, § 266.

^d *Paulinischer Lehrbegriff*, iv. A. s. 198.

very passage as an instance how comprehensive the meaning of a word might be.^a

V. 18. The γάρ shews that something confirmatory of the preceding affirmation is about to be said, for, continues the Saviour, "Never can the destruction of the law take place, until it be completely fulfilled, (γενέσθαι = πληροῦσθαι). We must commence with inquiry into the meaning of the words and the construction. Παρέρχεσθαι, like παραδραμεῖν, παραφέρεσθαι, παράγειν, and other compounds of the kind, has the meaning *to pass by, withdraw from view, and then also to perish*; See Wetstein on the text; compare also παρερχεται μέ τι, *I forget some thing*, and in Aristides i. 216: παρεῆλθον ὅσπερ μῦθοι. So likewise in Hebrew רָבַע, Ps. xxxvii. 36; Nahum i. 12; Job xxxiv. 20. The word is also expressly used of the destruction of heaven, Matt. xxiv. 35; 2 Pet. iii. 10; Rev. xxi. 1, as παράγει is, 1 John ii. 17, and the intransitive παράγει, 1 Cor. vii. 31. According to the doctrine of the Bible, however, neither the heavens nor the earth themselves shall cease to be, but merely τὸ σὺν ἡμῶν κόσμος τούτου, (1 Cor. vii. 31). A new form of the visible world, as 2 Pet. iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1; Rom. viii. 21, teach us, come into the place of the present; and, consequently, the παρέρχεσθαι is in sense merely *a μετασχηματίζεσθαι*.

Now in what relation does ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται stand to the ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ? Dr. Fritzsche, first in the *Neue Theolog. Journal von Winer und Engelhardt*

^a Dissert. Theol. et Philol. p. 80—83.

v. s. 14, and afterwards in his Commentary, i. h. l. has called attention to the fact, that we have here an instance of what often occurs in the classics, and is also to be found in James ii. 14, viz. a proposition with a double *apodosis*, the one before, the other after the *protasis*, but both equivalent in sense; and observes of this view of the construction: quod neminem videre memini. Here the πάντα is held to be synonymous with *all that is possible*, and the expression passes for being of the same proverbial kind, as ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ. But seeing that the word *possible*, on which the whole stress lies, is wanting, the explanation must appear inadmissible, even when we leave altogether out of view, that the meaning would then be very trivial, and besides, that—ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ having the same sense—the proposition would involve a tautology. Moreover, Dr. Fritzsche was not, as he believes, the first to broach it. It was originally given by Episcopius,^a then by an anonymous author in the *Freywilligen Hebopfern*, 5. Beitr. s. 409, then by J. Christoph. Fr. Schulz, in his *Erinnerungen zu Joh. D. Michaelis Bibelübersetzung*. s. 39, then by Rosenmüller in his Scholia. Usteri likewise had adopted it in the first editions of his *Paulinischer*

^a Episcopius in his Com. on Matth.: Quæ sequuntur verba ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται idem mihi continere videntur quod præcedentia, et ad confirmandum magis id quod dictum est adhiberi, hoc pacto: Imo vero dico vobis, priusquam omnia ista pereant nihil omnino in Lege Mosaica immutandum erit; πάντα γένηται itaque est idem quod ὁ οὐρανὸς παρέλθῃ, quia cælum et terra omnia sunt. But it is difficult to see how γενέσθαι should signify the same as παρέρχισθαι.

Lehrbegriff, but very properly relinquished it in the fourth. On the contrary, it has been introduced by De Wette in the second edition of his translation of the Bible. Even those expositors, however, who follow the common interpretation, have, for the most part, construed in the very same way as Dr. Fritzsche; not indeed Grotius and Clericus, who would have ἕως taken adversatively, *i. e.* as synonymous with ἀλλά, but probably many of those who translate like Luther. Others again have considered ἕως ἄν πάντα γένηται as a by-clause intended to define more minutely the παρέρχεσθαι of the νόμος. Thus Chrysostom expounds: ἀμήχανον ἀτέλεστον μεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βραχύτατον αὐτοῦ πληρωθῆναι δεῖ. When Dr. Fritzsche urges, in opposition to this: Id prorsus abhorret a naturâ vocolæ ἕως, the objection does not touch Chrysostom, for, as appears still more obviously from Euthymius, that father has not, like Grotius, taken ἕως in the sense of ἀλλά, but only so translated the sense: He conceives the minor proposition with ἕως as if there stood ἰῶτα ἐν οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀτέλεστον ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου. Now, whether we so apprehend the minor proposition as that it serves more specifically to define the mode of the παρέρχεσθαι of the νόμος, or whether we make it co-ordinate with the first ἕως is of no consequence to the meaning. Certain it is, that the more ancient and common interpretation gives that correctly. Γενέσθαι, as it stands here connected with what has been previously said of πληρωθῆναι, can have no other signification but *evenire*, which it bears in a similar phrase Luke xxi. 32, οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἢ γενεὰ αὕτη, ἕως ἄν πάντα γένη-

ται. The most precise parallel is Luke xvi. 17 :
 Εὐκλιπώτερον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν,
 ἢ τοῦ νόμου μίαν κεραίαν πεσεῖν. Πίπτειν, *cadere*, *ad ir-*
ritum cadere, is here neither more nor less than μὴ
 γενέσθαι. The meaning which results, is hence as
 follows: "Until the subversion of the present con-
 stitution of the world, until all that is in the law shall
 be fulfilled, the law shall continue to subsist," or,
 "until the close of the present constitution of the
 world shall arrive, no point of the law shall remain
 unfulfilled."

The expositor, however, here encounters the diffi-
 culty, that in this manner Christ assigns a term, at
 which the law is to perish, whereas it cannot but be
 said, that an endless duration appertains to the law
 of God. The easiest way of obviating this difficulty,
 is to adopt the canon proposed of old by Chrysostom,
 viz. that ἕως, ἄχρις and the Hebrew **עַד** denote not
 only the *terminus ad quem*, but also the *terminus*
ultra quem. This Hackspanius has discussed with
 application to our text, in the Notæ Philolog.-theolog.
 ii. 597. Compare the expositors on Matthew i. 25 ;
 1 Cor. xv. 25 ; Noldius, Concord. part. 538, and Ge-
 senius' Lehrbeg. s. 847. The passages which have
 been adduced in support of it are Deut. vii. 24 ;
 Gen. xxviii. 15 ; Ps. cx. 1 ; 1 Tim. iv. 13. Com-
 pare the observations made below, on ver. 26. This
 canon has, in modern times, been disputed by Dr.
 Fritzsche on Matt. i. 25. Doubtless it can nowhere
 be maintained that ἕως or ἄχρις denotes precisely the
terminus ultra quem, although, on the other side, it is
 admitted, that neither by any means does it necessarily

exclude it. For brevity's sake, we may here appeal to examples from everyday life: When, for instance, we say, "Farewell *till* we meet again," we certainly do not thereby mean to express, "afterwards you may be sick if you please." Our wish, however, for the moment, actually extends no farther than the term assigned; all that lies beyond remains unheeded. If this, then, be actually the case with *ἕως*, and if, with all supernaturalist expositors, we presuppose that the Saviour and his contemporaries really expected a μετασχηματισμός τοῦ κόσμου,—as at Matt. xxiv. 35, it is definitely affirmed in the future tense, ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσεται,—it follows that Christ certainly has prescribed a term for the duration of the validity of the law, or at least left the point problematical. Now, many have been of opinion that, considering the proverbial character of the expression, it is wrong to urge the *till*. Calvin: Docere Christus voluit in tota mundi machina nihil esse tam stabile quam firma est legis veritas, et quidem omni ex parte. Argutius ludunt quidam in voce *donec*, quasi cœli et terræ transitus, qui futurus est extremo judicii die finem allaturus sit Legi et prophetis. Et certe quemadmodum tunc linguæ cessabunt, et prophetiæ abolebuntur, ita Scriptam Legem cum expositione desituram arbitror. Sed quia simplicius locutum esse Christum existimo, talibus illecebris pascere nolo lectorum aures. Ergo hoc tenere sufficiat, ruiturum potius esse cœlum, totamque mundi machinam miscendam esse, quam vacillet Legis stabilitas. Zwingli and Luther give the same explanation, and after them Chemnitz, Hun-

nius, and others among the more ancient. It was particularly approved by the Arminians, Grotius, and Wetstein; Episcopius speaks doubtfully. They supported it by many often quoted citations from the classics; Thus the Greeks say: *Θᾶσσον ἂν τὸν οὐρανόν* (according to Hesiod *ἔδος ἀσφαλῆς αἰεὶ*) *συμπεσεῖν*, and the Latins: *Donec cœlum ruat*. The following would be parallels from the Old Testament, Ps. lxxii. 7; lxxxix. 36, 37; Job xiv. 12, (Jer. xxxiii. 20, 21; Baruch iv. 1). As to the parallels from the classics, it may be objected that they actually believed in the endless duration of this *machina mundi*, and hence the day of its destruction was in fact a day that was never to come. According to the doctrine of Christ, however, the world is destined to perish, and even the Hebrew looked for a transformation of this present terrestrial system, Is. lxxv. 17; lxxvi. 22. Hence the expressions in the Old Testament passages, are rather to be considered as designating a duration of unseen extent, and of which we are uncertain whether it is ever to have a term. In this indefinite character, the phrase might here also be proverbially used, as is the case Luke xvi. 17: *Εὐκοπώτερον δὲ ἔστι τὸν οὐρανόν κτλ.*; so that the sense would be: "For an immeasurable length of time, shall this law endure." In that conception of the meaning, however, we cannot acquiesce, and just on the grounds, that the *ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται* states a fixed term. We have already expressed in what sense we take it, and that will be still farther elucidated by what we shall say upon ver. 19th. The law, both in its *ethical* and *ritual* branches,

remains unfulfilled ; in the former respect, so long as it has not been perfectly *transplanted into the hearts of men*, a result which has been expressly foretold in the prophecy of the Messiah (Jer. xxxi. 32—34) ; in the latter, so long as all that the external theocracy of the Hebrews prefigured, is not *spiritually realized in the church of Christ*. When shall the law then come to pass or be fulfilled in this manner ? *At the time when*, 1 Cor. xv. 28, *is realized*. But that fulfilment of the law synchronizes, precisely with the *παρέρχασθαι* of the present *σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου*, and with the introduction of that new *σχῆμα* which is to come, Rom. viii. 19—21. We are thus then necessarily brought to a more definite conception of the former *ἕως*, and their results the following sense, which is pregnant with meaning : “ The law shall endure until the new order of things to be introduced at the period when all to which the law pointed, and for which it prepared the way, shall be fulfilled.” It follows, accordingly, that when Christ here speaks of the law being abolished, he only intends its abrogation, in so far as its moral part involves unfulfilled requirements, and its ritual part, unaccomplished types ; While, on the contrary, our Saviour might, in another sense, have equally well said of the law, what Baruch iv. 1, expresses, *ὁ νόμος ὁ ὑπάρχων εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, and Philo de Vita Mosis, l. ii. p. 656 : *καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔπειτα πάντα διαμενεῖν ἐλπίς αὐτὰ* (the commandments) *αἰῶνα ὡςπερ ἀθάνατα, ἕως ἂν ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός τε καὶ κόσμος ᾗ*. The abolition, *abrogare*, of the law by the Saviour, is also on the other side, a doing away of it in the sense of

conservare. The legal dispensation has perished in that of grace, as the flower dies in the fruit.^a

In the construction of the sense of this passage Dr. Paulus comes nearest to us; with this difference, however, that what he deems *Jewish superstition*, we consider *Divine Truth*. He translates: "So long as the Messiah's theocracy endures upon the earth, the law shall be in force, until all that Christ undertakes shall be executed." Bialloblotzky too, *De Legis Mosaicæ Abrog.*, p. 76, strongly insists that ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ κτλ. must not be taken proverbially, and compares, not without Christian ingenuity, the ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται with the text I Cor. xv. 28. Usteri, who in the fourth edition of his *Paulinischer Lehrbegriff*, occupies himself greatly with the passage, understands the first clause as we do; but he still says, that under πάντα is meant all that is to precede the παρουσία of Christ. No one, however, who has at all investigated the sermon on the Mount connectedly, will concur with him, when, in the note at p. 201, he expresses his persuasion that the whole text does not stand here in its right place, but belongs to that in which Luke introduces it, xvi. 17.

As a singular exposition, we have still to notice that of MacKnight; according to whom the last clause with ἕως is in so far equivalent in meaning to the first, that the πάντα relates to those predictions which treat of the destruction of the heaven and the earth.

^a In that he is without the law, Paul is still not ἄνομος τῷ Θεῷ, but ἔννομος τῷ Χριστῷ. I Cor. ix. 21.

It now only remains to say somewhat upon *ἰῶτα ἐν* and *μία κεραία*. Considering the proneness of men in their investigation of the Divine Word, to cleave more to what is of minor than to what is of essential importance, it is no wonder that these words have given occasion to much subtlety and trifling. Augustine thinks that the *ἰῶτα* is the Latin *i*, and understands by the *κεραία*, or apex, the dot above! Theophylact and Jerome introduce the fancy, that the *iota* and the hook designate the cross of Christ. the former the upright beam, the latter the cross bar. Others insist that the *apices* are the Hebrew vowel and accent points. Among the many dissertations^a which have been written upon the subject, that of Iken on our text is the most solid. The *ἰῶτα* denotes the smallest Hebrew letter י, but the *κεραία*, which is derived from *κέρας*, means a ductus literæ, or *stroke of the pen*. The Rabbins, viz. style the lines which form the upper part of the letters *ג*, *ה*, *the crown*, and the strokes of the under part *קוץ* or *עוקץ*, the *thorn* or *stalk*, or also use the latter as a common expression for all minuter touches, such, for example, as that which distinguishes the *ד* from the *ד*, or the *ד* from the *ד*; especially, however, they call the upper part of the *ἰῶτα* the *crown*, and the under hook the *thorn*. The *κεραία*, accordingly, as a *part* of the smallest letter, is a heightening of the idea of smallness; And so this expression of Christ's is an emphatical designation of the law in its most minute parts. Many, indeed, from the mention here made

^a Dissertaciones, Philol. Theolog. Tom. i. diss. 20.

of the letters, being the component parts of which it is composed, have demonstrated the exercise of a providential care over the *Codex* even to its minutest elements, the letters and accents. Now, beyond all doubt, the same providence which watches over the heart and head, extends even to the heel and each particular hair; and all depends upon what further conclusion we draw from this. On our text, however, that proof can only be built indirectly, seeing that here the elements of the *Codex* denote *per meton.* the constituent parts of the Mosaic code, which results even from the fact that the *coming to pass* and *being fulfilled* of the letters, is what is spoken of, and from the mention of the ἐντολαὶ ἐλάχισται afterwards in ver. 19th.

V. 19. The Saviour draws an inference; and that as the ἐδίδαξε shews, is of a kind particularly intended for the use and profit of the guides and teachers of the people: Because, all that the law contains is of moment, the very least of its requirements must not be done away.

This saying, in respect of its doctrinal import, is one of the most difficult in the New Testament; but, inasmuch as the difficulty lies more in the matter than in the words, expositors afford us little light upon it.

Λύειν is usually taken as synonymous with οὐ ποιεῖν, because, in the sequel, ποίησθαι καὶ διδάξθαι is parallel. It can, however, have no other meaning than that which we developed at ver. 17th, viz. ἀκυροῦν, καταργεῖν. Per consequentiam, indeed the οὐ ποιεῖν stands in close connection with the ἀκυροῦν, so as certainly to be included in the idea. Now, the difficulty consists in

this, that these words prohibit the abrogation of even the slightest of the Old Testament *ἐντολαί*, whereas the apostles, Acts xv., without any scruple, release the Gentiles from the ritual law, and we find Christ himself, under certain circumstances, breaking the law of the Sabbath. What makes the matter still more surprising, no reference whatever is made at a later period to this declaration. Among moderns, Olshausen seems to have particularly felt, and in an original way, solves the prevailing difficulty; according to the very view which I myself formerly took of the saying. He supposes that, perhaps, the words point “to certain special circumstances, such as that some of the disciples, under false notions of liberty, had attacked the fabric of the ancient theocracy. The whole passage, therefore, contains a warning to them, not by premature interference, to prejudice the cause of God’s kingdom, and retard its own proper development.” We already observed upon ver. 17, that, as happened at the reformation, our Saviour’s appearance might have been accompanied by a false mania for liberty, and the desire too precipitately to cast off the yoke of the law. Supposing this to have been the case, and that our Saviour forbade it by anticipation, in order, when the proper period afterwards arrived, to bring about the change by the operation of his spirit, no objection can be urged.^a Against this exposition, how-

^a Tobler in his *Gedanken zur ehre Jesu*, s. 69, is one of the expositors who most candidly admit the difficulties which the explanation of this passage presents. “I felt,” he says, “that

ever, we have to state, that even the faintest vestige of such an antinomian mania for liberty cannot be discovered in that age; and further, that the saying, from the connection in which it stands with the 17th and 18th verses, has not the slightest semblance of containing a mere temporary ordinance. Nay, examined more closely, it does not say anything else than these previous verses. This very relation to verses 17 and 18, lead us to the proper apprehension of it. Not only those who here find a difficulty, but likewise Olshausen, who seeks to obviate it in the way we have stated, set out on the supposition, that both *λύειν* and *ποιεῖν* refer to the mere outward and literal observance of the precepts of the law. But with what right is this presumed? We have seen that *πληρῶσαι* by no means denotes such mere external obedience to the letter of the precepts, and just as little does the *γενέσθαι* of verse 18th. And does not this lead us equally to assign here a spiritual sense to *λύειν* and *ποιεῖν*, as, moreover, verse 20th, from its connection, contemplates the scribes, who observed the very minutiae of the law, as the subjects to whom the *λύειν* of the 19th verse is to be applied? There is a way of fulfilling the law, which, as it fulfils

there is here a knot which many cut instead of loosing." He then forms a conception of the sense, which is similar to that of Olshausen: "Whosoever *for the present still* keeps them, (the whole Mosaic precepts,) and teaches them in their just relation and proportions, as I myself who know the higher and more spiritual law, do, shall rank among the greatest citizens of God's kingdom.

merely the *letter*, is properly a *transgression* of it ; this is the fundamental truth of the maxim *Summum jus summa injuria* : And, on the other hand, there is a *transgression* of the letter of the law, which is essentially a *fulfilment* of it. Thus we find Christ himself offending against the Sabbatical precept, with the consciousness of thereby keeping it according to the mind of the lawgiver, John v. 17 ; Mark ii. 27, 28. It is only in this true sense that the Saviour, acquainted as he is with the essence of the law, can speak of *breaking* and *doing* it. Here again have expositors allowed themselves to be led astray by the false principle, that the words must be taken in the sense in which the *hearers*, at the time they were delivered, understood them ; whereas verses 17 and 18, furnish sufficient evidence that Christ spoke of the *fulfilling* and *destroying* of the law, with quite other ideas than what the people entertained. On that supposition, however, as some may object, Christ led those who heard him into error. Seeing that they could conceive nothing else to be intended but the maintenance of an external observation of the commandments, he in this manner caused his followers to regard, not merely the moral, but also the ritual law, as of eternal obligation. Did they, however, actually do so ? We recognise a special proof of the divinity of the Christian religion, in this very circumstance, that the spirit which Christ had promised to his followers to guide them into all truth, did, at a period long after his own departure from the earth, lead them to the knowledge of what was eternal, and what transitory in the law ; and in the fact that the

transitory part of it was afterwards disannulled without one individual grounding, upon the declaration before us, a protest against it. The ritual law being in the divine intention, of temporary duration,—a fact which its own nature evinces, inasmuch as it was a downright impossibility for all mankind to adopt Judaism in which the whole sacrificial establishment was fixed to a single spot of the globe, even Jerusalem,—it was no *λύειν* of the ceremonial law, but a *πληρωσαι* in the spirit, when, at the introduction of the universal religion, the external observance of it was antiquated, and instead of that a spiritual realization of the sacrificial worship, and a spiritual theocracy, ever more and more took place. In this too, we have another voucher, that the nonfulfilment of the law according to the letter, may be a positive fulfilment of it according to the spirit.^a We must nevertheless, however, regard even the external construction which was to be put upon the words until the time when the Spirit should bring about their fulfilment, as included in the design of Christ, inasmuch as he did not contemplate a purely negative and revolutionary overthrow of the Old Testament constitution, but such a one as should be effected in a gradual way by the operation of the Spirit.

^a Calvin: *Quia precepit Deus, ut temporalis esset externus cæremoniarum usus, significatio autem æterna, non solvit cæremonias, qui, earum effectum retinens, quod umbratile est, omittit.* So also Spanheim. With what has been here said, let the reader also compare what we shall afterwards observe at ver. 21, upon the relation of single commandments of Christ, to those of the Old Testament. See particularly page 221.

As to the history of the exposition of the verse, even the fathers of the church felt the difficulty it involved, and adopted very violent means of doing that away. Thus the Greek interpreters contend, that the demonstrative pronoun *τούτων* before *ἐλάχιστων*, relates to the subsequent precepts of Christ, and the author of the *Opus imperf.* appeals to Ps. xlix. 1, in proof that the reference of such pronouns to something consequent, is a *mos loquendi in Scripturis*. Christ's calling his own precepts *ἐλάχισται*, several consider as an expression of modesty. It is extraordinary, that not merely Maldonatus but even Grotius should have acquiesced in this view of the *τούτων*. Schöttgen proceeds in the very opposite way, referring it to the remote beatitudes in the preceding context; and Wetstein conjoins both the reference to these and that to the following commandments. It is perfectly clear, however, that the *ἐλάχισται ἐντολαί* is properly a mere resumption of the *ἰῶτα ἐν* and *μία κεραία*. This result, viz. that Christ means his own commandments, is virtually the same to which those arrive, who as Beza first, and then Bengel, Rus and others contend, that *ἐλάχισται ἐντολαί* is used in the sense of the Pharisees, who designated the moral precepts as the least. Now much would depend upon whether so great a depreciation of the moral commandments on the part of the Pharisees, as that they, positively called them *the least*, could be proved. There does not, however, exist sufficient evidence of the fact.^a In general, various passages

^a Doubtless, it may be shewn, that these men had lost, in an almost incredible degree, the standard of moral judgment :

of the Talmud shew, that the Jewish lawyers, especially the Hillelites and the Schamaïtes contended with each other, which precepts belonged to the קלים (the easy), and which to the חוסרים (the difficult.) Many also taught that such a division ought to be discarded. Thus, in the Commentary רבה, sect. 6, the expression, Prov. v. 6: ארר חיים פוֹת־תַּפְּלִים is explained, as if it meant that the way of life, *i. e.* the commandments, ought not to be weighed with each other, seeing that man cannot know what reward God has assigned to each. Most expositors, without seeking any more particular foundation for their opinion, at once assert that only the moral precepts are here intended. So Socinus, Clericus, Clarke, Heumann, and Rosenmüller.

To come now to the minor proposition, it assigns as penalty for the breach of an ἐντολή, an inferior rank in the kingdom of heaven, and as a recompence for the ποιῆν and διδάσκειν, a place of higher dignity. Ἐλάχιστος answers to ἐντολαί ἐλάχισται, as a play upon the words; compare vii. 2; x. 41,^a and is to be apprehended as if the comparative had been used instead; just as *vice versa*, ὁ μείζων, must be understood in the sense of ὁ μέγιστος, Matt. xviii. 1—4. (See Thus when, in Cod. Tanchuma, fol. lxxii. it is asserted: “*Whosoever after meat washeth not his hands, is no better than him who has committed a murder.*” It is still, however, a question, whether they consciously separated the ethical from the ceremonial precepts, and positively applied the epithet *least* to the former.

^a Bengel: Est plocē. Pro eo ac nos tractamus verbum Dei, Deus nos tractat. John xvii. 6, 11; Rev. iii. 10.

Winer's Grammatik, s. 199.) There is here the less possibility of urging the proper power of the superlative, inasmuch as it has not the article, (comp. Luke xii. 26, and, on the contrary, ὁ ἐλάχιστος, 1 Cor. xv. 9,) and the counterpart is not μέγιστος but μέγας. The text then, like so many others, teaches that a fundamental difference of degrees obtains in the kingdom of God, a doctrine which some theologians of a former day, such as Peter Martyr, Camero, and Spanheim impugned. Βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν is here considered by many as referring merely to church fellowship. Beza says: *In piorum cœtu recte instituto*, and he also again expounds at ver. 20, the οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε: *indignos fore qui in Ecclesiâ doceatis*. In the 19th verse, this acceptance of the phrase may be tolerated, but unquestionably not in the 20th; and, agreeably to the development which we gave on ver. 3d of the notion of βασιλεία, it appears that communion with the *ecclesia militans*, or Regnum Gratiæ, includes also citizenship in the Regnum Gloriæ. and the latter presupposes the former. We require not, however, to conceive that position in the kingdom of heaven, here designated a penalty, as permanent and marking the final upshot.

The great majority of expositors, from the earliest times, have taken a different view of the proposition. Setting out, as is probable, with James' declaration, chap. ii. 10, that whosoever offends against the law in one point, is guilty of all, the ancients believed that this saying implied a total exclusion from the kingdom of God. Chrysostom understands by βασιλεία, the period of the παρουσία to judgment, and

the ἐν, as Grotius and Episcopius^a also do, as indicating *time*, (1 Cor. xv. 23): accordingly, at the time of Christ's advent to judge the world, the least shall be excluded. Even Hilary instances the Latin *nullus sum (nullo loco esse)*, and it is quoted by modern commentators, who have, *erit minimus, i. e. novississimus et nullus in regno cœlorum*. Augustine wavers: *Fortasse ideo non erit in regno cœlorum, ubi nisi magni essent non possunt*. So also Episcopius, Wolf, Kypke, Kuinöl, and others. These moderns handle the expression as if it were a rhetorical figure, a μείωσις, and some have made appeal to Gal. v. 21, where *not to inherit* is a μείωσις for *to be shut out*, so that here the very same would be expressed as by the οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε in ver. 20th. To say nothing, however, of the caprice that reigns in this exposition, there does not exist a single reason which necessitates it. On the contrary, we are obliged to conclude that it is not exclusion, but inferiority of station, which is spoken of. In ver. 20th, Christ declares, that the man whose δικαιοσύνη in general does not rise to a higher pitch than that of the Pharisees, shall be excluded from his kingdom; here, however, he speaks of such as do not know nor practise, according to their true import, certain special precepts of the law. The portion of these is not that they shall be shut out, but that they shall be placed on a lower rank.

We have still to notice a case of divergence in the

^a Episcopius: Quo tempore regnum illud appariturum est, vel quo tempore Deus vitæ æternæ præmium distributurus est.

view formed of the last clause of the verse. Beza proposes to take the first *καὶ διδάξῃ* as if it were *καὶ διδάξῃ*, in order by that means to create a still stronger antithesis to what follows; on the one hand ‘Whosoever breaks, even although he teaches others,’ (the *οὕτω* would thus be made to refer to the keeping and not to the breach of the commandments); on the other hand, ‘Whosoever shall do and teach.’ So Castellio; and Jerome likewise was aware of the view. In this case, Christ would make a similar declaration against Pharisaical hypocrisy, as at Matt. xxiii. 2, 3. But, apart from the violence which it does to the words, the exposition is by no means eligible, on the score of connection, for it is not the Saviour’s design in this place to mention pretences to holiness; He but describes the limited views which the Pharisees took of morality, and consequently can only speak of a more narrow and restricted conception of the Divine law, and its inculcation.

V. 20. A further confirmation and fuller exposition is introduced by *γάρ*. It is obvious, from the train of ideas, that the Pharisees are here represented as persons by whom that which is said in the second clause of ver. 19th is in a high degree realized. They are such, whose *δικαιοσύνη* nowise satisfied the full requirements of the law,^a although in the eyes of the people, their interpretation was the standard of a true knowledge, and their practice the

^a Castellio: Attende, Lector, diligenter hanc sententiam, ut sequentes intelligas. Docet hoc loco Iesus, ubi sita sit vera virtus et justitia, videlicet in parendo Legi, sed quid sit vere parere Legi, ostendit.

beau-ideal of a right fulfilment of it. Thus, it is said of them, Acts xxvi. 5, that they were the ἀκριβεστάτη αἵρεσις τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς θρησκείας. In the delusion under which they laboured about their own state, and the demands which God makes upon man, they aspired to the performance even of works of supererogation. They made, as they called it, a *hedge* around the law, (ג'ד), by a practice of doing a very little more than the letter of it required, and leaving undone a very little more than it forbad. In opposition to this defective δικαιοσύνη, our Saviour now, from the 12th verse, expounds the law in all its extent, and intimates the necessity of reducing it in the same extent to practice. When Maldonatus and some others imagine that Christ merely alludes to the δικαιοσύνη of such hypocritical and unprincipled Pharisees as are spoken of at Matt. xxiii. 3, the opinion is contradictory to the context. Jesus had hitherto spoken of those, who do not apprehend and teach the law to its full extent, and in all its depth; through the whole of the following section, he contends against the current mode of expounding it on the part of the scribes, and, consequently, here also he can only have in his eye pious persons, according to the common pharisaical sense of the word. That the πλεῖον τῶν Γραμματέων, by virtue of a concise mode of expression, stands in place of πλεῖον τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῶν Γραμματέων, see Winer's Grammat. p. 201; long before the same was observed by Beza and Bengel.

This declaration, the polemical divines of the Romish church wielded against the Protestants, in

order to show that the *justitia habitualis et actualis* has a justifying power. Calov,^a in fact, allowed himself, by the apparent contradiction, to be driven to the adoption of the opinion, that the righteousness which Christ here demands is the *justitia fidei*; And, in order to show that this *surrogatio plane alterius speciei* has place, he appealed to Matt. xii. 41, 42; 2 Cor. ii. 3. Better Gerhard's Loci viii. I63, and with polemical seriousness against the delusion, Scultetus, Exercit. ii. 59.

V. 21. We must settle the general point of view for the whole following section, which now unfolds the *πλήρωσις* of the law. The opinions of interpreters have parted into two principal divisions.

The views of Socinians, and of the majority of protestant divines, stand in direct contradiction to each other. The former find here an entirely new legislation on the part of Christ; not merely a *completio*, but a *correctio legis*,^b and, consequently, maintain that he assumes an attitude of opposition to Moses.^c According to the majority of protestant exegetical authors, he comes forward in the character of an interpreter of the ancient law; and, therefore, in opposition, not to Moses, but to the false expositions of the Pharisees. Betwixt these conflicting views, that of the ancient fathers and the Romish church occupies a middle position. According to them, it is indeed

^a (Hom. in Ps. xiv. T. i. p. 356.) So likewise Gregory of Nyssa, Hom. xiii. in Cant. Cant. (T. i. p. 657.)

^b See Wolzogen on ver. 23.

^c See above at p. 52.

the Mosaic law against which Christ sets up his precepts, but he opposes it in such a way, that what he enjoins is not different from the commandments of the Old Testament, but merely a higher stage and developement of them, and consequently forms a *correctio legis*, exclusively in the sense of *impletio*; in which sense the *καιρὸς διορθώσεως*, Heb. ix. 10, is also used. Let us, for instance, listen to Chrysostom, either in the observation quoted at p. 185, or in what he says on the present verse: *Ερωτήσωμεν τοίνυν τοὺς τὸν νόμον ἐκβάλλοντας, τὸ μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι τοῦ μὴ φονεύειν ἐναντίον, ἢ μᾶλλον ἐκείνου τελείωσις τοῦτο καὶ κατασκευή;*—*οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τοῦ νόμου, ἀλλ' ἐπιπλείονι ταῦτα ἐνομοθέτει φυλακῇ.*^a

How weighty this diversity of the views was held, and justly held, by their respective defenders, the introduction to this section of the discourse in Wolzogen and Chemnitz, shews. The former commences with the words: *Antequam ipsa verba explicemus, judicandus nobis est crassus valde et perniciosus error, qui fere omnibus interpretibus a Papismo*

^a Let us ask, then, the subverters of the law, whether the precept, Thou shall not be angry, be opposed to the precept, Thou shall not kill, or not rather the perfection and complement of it? It was not, then, with a view to the abolition, but to the greater conservation of the law, that he delivered these enactments. Thus Basilius, in reference to the apparent contradiction between Mat. v. 34, and Ps. xv. 4, says what applies well to all the precepts of the sermon on the Mount: *Πανταχοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σκοποῦ ἔχεται ὁ κύριος, προλαμβάνων τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὰ ἀποτελέσματα, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἀρχῆς ἐκτέμνων τὴν πονηρίαν.* Hom. in Ps. xiv. T. I. p. 350.

alienis communis est, veræque pietati, quam Evangelium exposcit, vim omnem adimit, quod scilicet Christus nova sua precepta, de quibus in hac parte agit, non Mosaicæ Legi, sed tantum falsis Interpretationibus Scribarum et Pharisæorum opposuerit. In a contrary strain Chemnitz: Totus hic locus obscuratus, imo fœde depravatus fuit ab illis, qui existimant, Christum hanc suam explicationem opponere ipsi Legi divinæ.

Before, however, we seek a decision upon these opinions from the thing itself, it is essential to come to clear perceptions on the meaning of the formula ἐρρόέθη^a τοῖς ἀρχαίοις.

There are two ways of apprehending it, according to which, supposing them correct, it would be at once decided that the Pharisees and their interpretation of the law, constituted the sole object of opposition to the Saviour.^b In the first place, Chemnitz and Spanheim refer the ἡκούσατε to the conversation of every day life; so that the ἐρρόέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις denotes a mere *pretence* on the part of the Pharisees. They have translated thus: Vestris doctoribus illud

^a As to ἐρρήθη and ἐρρέθη which last is probably found only in authors not Attic, see Lobeck and Phrynichum, p. 447. Buttman Ausf. Gramm. ii. 121.

^b We but cursorily notice the view of Elsner, which cannot come further into consideration, that χρόνοις is to be supplied, and τοῖς ἀρχαίοις viewed adverbially, as equivalent to antiquitus. Now certainly ellipses of χρόνος do occur, such as ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τοῖς δ' ὕστερον; But of the ellipses in question, Elsner produces no examples. Nevertheless it has been adopted by Bolten and Schuster. (*Eichhorn's Bibl.* ix. 985.)

frequenter in ore, dictum esse jam olim majoribus vestris. But the incorrectness of this interpretation is evinced by the mere circumstance that in the sequel *ἠκούσατε* is not uniformly used; see ver. 31. Even although that were not the case, however, it is demonstrable that *ἀκούειν*, in this connection, has another and a perfectly different sense, as we shall afterwards shew, when we come to give our own explanation.

The view which has been far more widely spread, is, that *τοῖς ἀρχαίοις* should be taken, not as the dative, but as the ablative, and equivalent in sense to *ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων*. This was, so far as we know, first proposed by Beza, and then by Piscator; and has met such strong approbation, that besides expositors of a more ancient date, the moderns have almost unanimously acquiesced in it, Kypke, Krebs, Kuinöl, Bolten, Fritzsche, Olshausen, Meyer, and others. As its assailants, we have to name Wolzogen and Spanheim. Several, for instance, Capellus, Alberti and Ernesti have denounced the construction as harsh.^a That, however, is what cannot be said; for, it is well known, that among the Greeks the dative was frequently joined to passive verbs, in the sense of the Latin ablative, and this is also the case with *ἐῖρηται*. Palairet, ad. h. l., Raphelius, Annot. Herod. ad. h. l., Kypke, ad. h. l., and after them Winer, N. T. Gr. p. 178, have proved this by examples, and it is a known fact that the same *usus loquendi* has like-

^a Alberti. Observ. Philol., p. 38; Ea enim phrasis est insolens.

wise been transferred into the Latin. Neither can it be maintained that this construction was unusual among the Hellenists; for, besides a few doubtful examples, we find in the New Testament, Mat. vi. 1; xxiii. 5; Luke xxiii. 15; xxiv. 35. Comp. Alt. Gram. N. T. p. 55, Wahl, s. v. ἀγνοέω, Winer Gr. p. 178. Besides, there is not even any necessity for tracing the construction back to the classic *usus loquendi*, it being frequent in Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic, and the Rabbinical dialect. (See e. g.; Ex. xii. 16; Prov. xiv. 20). Compare Gesenius, *Lehrgeb.*, s. 178, Hoffmann Gr. Syriaca, s. 373. Moreover, the construction recommends itself on the following grounds; 1. Christ, in what follows, does actually not quote the precepts of the Old Testament in their purity, but with adulterations which emanated from the lawyers; 2. That it creates a distinct antithesis to ἐγώ; 3. The formula, it appears, corresponds pretty exactly with one common among the Rabbins. As all with them rests upon the παραδόσεις of the forefathers, they appealed to their declarations with the formulas: אמרו קדמונינו זקנים, אמרו קדמאין, ראשונים אמרו. See Edzard on Avoda Sara, p. 284, and Schöttgen, ad. h. l. They likewise often use איתמר absolutely.^a Doubtless these reasons merit consideration. Still, however, one cannot easily resolve to acquiesce in them, and that principally on the ground that in the case

^a In the passage which Krebs produces from Josephus, *Antiquitates*, xviii. c. 1, reverence for the *seniores*, not for the *majores*, is spoken of.

of ἐρρέθη, where the ambiguity is so near at hand, this construction was least of all to be expected, and is not otherwise guarded against. In all other passages of the New Testament, where ἐρρέθη occurs, the dative denotes the persons who are spoken to; so Rom. ix. 12, 26; Gal. iii. 16; Rev. vi. 11; ix. 4, and so also in the LXX. Add to this, that we should require vouchers to prove, that οἱ ἀρχαῖοι is used directly to denote the ancient Hebrew doctors of the law. Josephus, in speaking of them, uses Πατέρες, παράδοσις τῶν πατέρων, ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς.^a So Gal. i. 14, πατρικαὶ παραδόσεις; and, in general, the common word for *forefathers* is πατέρες, Mat. xxiii. 30, 32; Luke vi. 23, 26; Acts iii. 13. Wherever in the New Testament, under the *majores*, the older teachers of the law are meant, there stands παράδοσις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, Mat. xv. 2; Mark vii. 3, 5, which in this passage does not mean *seniores* but *majores*; as at Heb. xi. 2. Other objections are of less, or of no weight; as, for instance, when it is said, that ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν requires in the preceding context a corresponding dative; in the sequel, ver. (27,) 31, 38 and 43, there is no τοῖς ἀρχαίοις at all. Or when it is imagined that Christ could not have so directly set up the ἐγὼ in contrast to Moses. But in ver. 31—38, it is the pure Mosaic law, to which he opposes himself. To the same purpose may be compared Matthew xix. 8, 9: Μωϋσῆς ἐπέτρεψεν—λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν κτλ. These two remarks, however, go to en-

^a Antiquit. xiii 10, 6.

feeble the first and second ground quoted above for the other interpretation.

But even after it has been determined to take ἀρχαίως as the dative, there still remain various modes in which the expression may be apprehended. We must, in the first place, elucidate ἠκούσατε. For this purpose, Drusius, Clericus, and others, have brought forward much extraneous matter with regard to the different ways of interpretation among the Jews, and more especially, respecting the verbal method משמע or שפוט. That is, however, out of place. The expression is here, beyond all doubt, to be explained from the fact, that the Mosaic law was known to the people in no other way than by having the fifty-four *Parashioth* of the law read in the synagogues, Acts xv. 21; John xii. 34; Rom. ii. 13. It is hence pertinent to observe, that שמעתא among the Rabbins, means a Bible text *read out*, and so *heard*. See Buxtorf, *Lex Talm.* s. h. v., and Bashuysen, *Clavis Talmud.* p. 208.

Doubtless, it may be objected, that in the sequel, the words of Scripture are not quoted purely, but mixed up with the traditions of the teachers of the law. This ought not, however, to excite surprise, when we consider that the public reading of the law was accompanied by an explanation, which passed with the hearers for absolutely authentic, and thus, in the eyes of the people, it seemed just as if the law itself had been formed upon the views of the Pharisees. John xii. 34, likewise, where they appeal to their having heard out of the law, "That Christ

abideth for ever," refers no less to the explanations which were given them of the texts concerning the Messias.

Who then are the ἀρχαῖοι? Many have interpreted the word in such a way as to preserve the reference exclusively to the Pharisees. It means, they say, the last departed contemporaries of the hearers, whose religious instruction had fallen entirely into the hands of that sect. In order to shew that ἀρχαῖοις is used in a totally relative sense, and hence, that it may be referred to the *immediate past*, appeal was made to Acts xxi. 16; 2 Cor. v. 17. [Ecclesiasticus ix. 10; Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iii. 24; Polyb. Histor. i. c. 9, 3. See also Doderlein's Lateinische Synonymick, iv. s. 89.] There might perhaps also be implied an allusion to the οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ of John x. 8, which, according as it is usually expounded, relates to the time immediately antecedent to the Saviour. Now, although this remark is philologically well-founded, it is hard to see why, supposing him to have meant to speak of the generation educated by the Pharisees, he did not at once say ὑμῶν, in place of τοῖς ἀρχαίοις. The most obvious way is to take ἀρχαῖοι here in the common signification of *priscus, ancient*,^a (Luke ix. 8, 19; 2 Pet. ii. 5; Rev. xii. 9,) so that it would refer to the contemporaries of Moses, who, in the works of the Rabbins, are in like manner styled הקדמונים, (See Cappellus on this place). Why, however, has Christ chosen just this mode of expression? Why has he not said, as at chap. xix. 8: Μωϋσῆς μὲν ἔπε-

^a In Aristophanes, Nubes, v. 974: ἀρχαῖα καὶ διῆπολιώδη.

τρῆψεν ὑμῶν—ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῶν? Why, instead of that, do we find only the ἀκούσατε, ὅτι, and the indefinite ἐβόηθη, and the unlooked for τοῖς ἀρχαίοις? We believe that the selection of these expressions, in preference to others, is to be explained as follows. Τοῖς ἀρχαίοις is used by our Saviour in consequence of his designing to set up the economy founded by himself as the New, in contrast with that of Moses as the Old, and thus implicitly to represent the ἀρχαῖον as a πεπαλαιωμένον, γηράσκον and ἐγχυὸς ἀφανισμοῦ. (Compare Heb. viii. 13; 2 Cor. v. 17.)^a

It might certainly be objected, that the contemporaries of Moses did not receive the exact precepts here delivered, inasmuch as they are adulterated by interpolations of the Pharisees. *A parte potiori*, however, they were still the commands of Moses,

^a The word has been already taken up in precisely the same sense by several others. Even in his early day, Chrysostom says: that Christ had used this expression ὡσανεὶ διδάσκαλος παιδίῳ ῥαθυμοῦντι λεγοί· οὐκ οἶσθα πόσον ἀνήλωσας χρόνον συλλαβὰς μελετῶν; Socinus: Vox ista eo sensu usurpata, ut intelligeret eos tanquam veterem populum censendos esse, cui videlicet jam novus esset successurus, cui Christus precepta ista a se reformata tradere instituerit. Some have made use, which, however, is inapposite, of the bad accessory import of ἀρχαῖος in which it is synonymous not merely with ἀπλοῦς, but also with εὐήθης. (See Suidas, s. h. v. and Fischer on Aristoph. Plutus, v. 323.) e. g. Æschyl. Prom. Vinc. v. 317, ἀρχαῖ' ἴσως φαίνομαι λέγειν τὰδε, where the Scholiast observes, ἀρχαῖα λέγονται τὰ μῶρα. So the Latin *antiquus*. This use of the word is yet only demonstrable among the classics, and moreover is here totally unsuitable.

and the people also, in compliance with the Pharisaical explanation, were persuaded, that in no other sense but this, were they originally delivered. But the very circumstance that Christ does not quote the pure words of Moses, has, as we believe, been the cause why it is not directly said, *Μωσῆς ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις*, but only indefinitely *ἐρρέθη*. Ἠκούσατε required to be added, inasmuch as it was only the circumstance of their being acquainted with the law, in no other way but by the public reading of it, which led them to consider the interpretation put upon it by the Scribes, as coincident with the Scripture itself.

It results, accordingly, from thus merely sifting the phrase, that Christ deals not absolutely with the Old Testament, but with the doctrine of the Old Testament in that form with which Pharisaism invested it. To the same conclusion we are also led by the *connection* of the words with the 20th verse, where Christ speaks of a righteousness, which is superior to that of the Pharisees. Still more clearly does the right understanding of ver. 17—19 point out how the section that now follows is to be understood. From an examination of what is there said, we derive the following, as the view of Christ with respect to the position in which his legislation stood to that of the Old Testament. “The letter of the Old Testament law needs not to be abolished, but merely understood according to the Spirit, in order to appear a moral law of the most perfect kind. I myself, in whom there dwells, without measure, the Spirit of him, through whose arrangements the Old Testament law

was delivered, am he who discloses this spiritual signification of the law, and in this respect also fulfil it. ^a That in the sequel, however much it may in many places, such as verses 38 and 39, appear otherwise, ^b Christ does not, in so far as the matter is concerned, actually contradict the Old Testament, but rather, as Chrysostom says, imparts to it the *τελείωσις* and *κατασκευή*, may be demonstrated throughout. The first principle, accordingly, which we lay down for the elucidation of the following section is: *That we have to regard the sayings of Christ as expressing the spiritual sense of the commandments of the Old Testament.* With this is connected a second canon, no less necessary for a right understanding of the matter. If the letter of the Old Testament may be understood in a carnal sense, so may that of the New; if a very restrictive meaning may be put upon the words of the moral law in the former, this may be also done with those of the latter. We have already seen at ver. 19, that no law is intelligible if the mind of the legislator does not, as a

^a Capellus: Hoc vult Christus: Vos putatis me venisse, ut ego solvam legem, at vero tantum abest, ut doctrina mea eam solvam, ut contra Legis sensum intimiorem et pleniorum, longeque exactiorem intelligentiam tradam, quam solitum est hactenus vobis proponi a doctoribus vestris. Grotius: Majoribus quidem vestris ista dicta sunt quæ illi, ut erant *σαρκικοί*, non nisi *σαρκικῶς* interpretabantur.

^a At verse 28th, where, however, it is particularly obvious that Christ merely enlarges the compass of the Old Testament law, Socinus says: Sic plane demonstrat se non illud explanare velle, sed aliquid diversum ab isto proponere.

spiritus interpres, guide the expositor, a remark which is equally applicable to every human composition. Nor so long as the person to whom we speak is destitute of this essential requisite for understanding, can any multitude of explanations, how we wish to be understood, ever certainly prevent mistake.^a Thus it happens, that the very expositions which the Lord himself gives of the Old Testament law, are again liable to misapprehension, and have, been in fact, greatly misapprehended. We hence lay down as the *second* canon necessary for a right understanding of

^a This touches a point, upon which, even among lawyers, opinions diverge. We find two classes opposed to each other, of which the one contends for the utmost possible *literal* fulfilment of the law, hopes, by enactments descending to the minutest details, to establish justice on a firm basis, and assigns to the judge no other function but the mechanical one, of searching the Codex for the title which applies to the particular case in dispute, and reading there the decision already made to his hand. The other requires attention to the mind of the legislator, as the most indispensable requisite for enabling the judge to administer the law, not merely according to its letter, but its spirit. Even now there falls into my hand some very apposite observations of an esteemed jurist, belonging to the number of those who find, in the words of Christ, the surest basis of justice. See Holweg's Introduction to the 3d edition of his *Grundriss zum Civil process*, (1832), s. 4: "Above all, it is here requisite that the lawyer be a *vir bonus*. It is not the theologians only, we also may say, *Pectus facit Jurisconsultum*." This supposes, of course, that the exposition of the law does not consist in the mere business of turning over the pages of the Codex, but is an explanation of it in the spirit of the legislator as well as in the spirit of abstract justice.

the sequel: *The moral precepts of Christ, or his explanations of those of the Old Testament, must themselves be again interpreted in the spirit of Christ.* But how then can I make it appear that I expound the precepts of the lawgiver by whom I am addressed, in the spirit of that lawgiver? I can give no other external evidence of this, than that my exposition perfectly harmonizes with whatever else I know him to have delivered.^a Now with respect to the following sayings, we are placed in a singular predicament, for we find that just those persons in the Christian world who have pre-eminently resigned themselves to the guidance of the Divine Spirit, and given testimony, both by word and walk, of the most serious Christian dispositions, have followed a mode of interpretation which we are compelled to characterize as not *spiritual* but *carnal*. Many of the most devout believers of early times, the evangelical sects of the middle ages, and the most

^a So that here also the universal law of interpretation holds, viz. To expound an author by himself. Origen, even in his day, justly declares, although he afterwards fails to make a proper application of the rule, that by it we must decide where Christ's sayings and precepts are to be understood literally, and where not. De Principiis, iii. c. 19: *Διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ ἀκριβῶς τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα, τηροῦντα τὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος πρόσταγμα τὸ λέγον· ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφὰς, ἐπιμελῶς βασανίζειν, πῆ τὸ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἀληθές ἐστιν, καὶ πῆ ἀδύνατον, καὶ ὅση δύναμις, ἐξίχνηύειν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων φωνῶν τὸν πανταχοῦ διεισπαρμένον τῆς γραφῆς νοῦν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἀδυνάτου.* To us it seems surprising, that Origen quotes this text and vers. 22 and 34 of the same chapter, as precepts about which there can be no question, whether they are to be observed *κατὰ τὴν λέξιν*, or not.

serious of those of the Greek church, the Menonites, and above all the Quakers, have construed the commandments, which Christ proceeds to deliver either in part or whole, not merely literally but even *absolutely*; so as to make them obligatory, like the precept of supreme love to God, upon all and at all times. To understand and fulfil a commandment in its literal sense, is not, *per se*, reprehensible whenever the mind of the legislator has actually required it to be so fulfilled; the literal fulfilment can only be objected against when the mind of the legislator has called for something else.^a Now, as we are persuaded that the Saviour, in the subsequent sayings, has not required a literal observance in every case, but merely under particular circumstances, we cannot but call the mode of interpretation to which we allude, inasmuch as it is not sufficiently imbued with the spirit of the lawgiver, a *carnal* interpretation, *i. e.* relatively to the lawgiver's mind, imperfect and dead. That it is of this kind, and consequently false, we evince, 1. From the fact, that it does not continue throughout consistent with itself, nor construe literally every precept of Christ, and every precept in all its bearings. For if we are to hold by the letter without admitting any modifi-

^a Compare the observations upon ver. 19, where it has been shewn how the literal observance of a law may, under certain circumstances, amount to a breach of it. It is well known, that by a literal construction of the English acts of Parliament, the spirit of the law is often evaded and contemned. And yet it was just respect for the decisions of the Parliament, which, in this case, led to their literal construction; while in the common law other principles reigned.

cation on the part of the Spirit, then must the Quaker, who is compelled by his friend to "go a mile, go with him twain," even though the friend finds his company an insufferable penance. Then must he also desist from testifying against sin and falsehood, because it is written, "Resist not evil," resistance comprehending not merely deeds but likewise words. 2. Because not only do manifold affirmations of Christ and the Apostles glaringly contradict those before us, the moment we construe them in an absolutely literal sense, but such is also the case with many of their actions, as we shall find at vers. 22, 34, and 39. 3. Because the absolutely literal fulfilment of these commands could not, in many cases, take place, without the breach of that highest commandment, which says, "Thou shalt love God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself." Would I conform absolutely to the precept, "Give to him that asketh thee," I must give the knife to the child, and poison to the man who means to commit suicide, and so on. The view we take assumes, accordingly, the following shape: The precepts which our Saviour delivers in the sequel, are such as, in certain circumstances, *i. e.* where the duty of loving God supremely, and our neighbour as ourselves enjoins it, ought to be literally complied with, but which, in cases where, without the violation of that highest law, their fulfilment is impossible, are, even while left unfulfilled according to the letter, by that very nonfulfilment, fulfilled according to the Spirit.

Now, here two other observations suggest themselves, which are essential for the proper understand-

ing of what follows, and the neglect of which, in general, has given birth to many misapprehensions in the science of exegesis and ethics. We have, in the first place, to take into consideration the popular and figurative language used by our Saviour. To the nature of popular diction, belong essentially the two qualities of *simplicity* and *impressiveness*; as that nation which, of all in modern times, is best skilled in popular eloquence expresses it: The popular orator must speak in *broad plain terms*. But nothing is more discrepant from this character of diction, than the measured distinctions of the logician or the endless clauses of the jurist. With brevity and pith, must the man who addresses the people express himself, reckoning upon the *sensus communis* of his audience for the interpretation of what he says. It is in this simple, concise and nervous style that our Saviour speaks. "Give to him that asketh thee." What! a knife to the murderer? no. The Spirit teaches the exception. "It is more blessed to give than to receive," (Acts xx. 35.) Must I then never accept a present? The Spirit teaches the exception "When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, but call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind," (Luke xiv. 12.) So I ought never to invite my friends to a feast! The Spirit again shews, what is the limitation. "Children obey your parents in all things," (Col. iii. 20.) Even when they order what is sinful? The exception is taught by the Spirit. "Forgive thy brother until seventy times seven," (Matt. xviii. 22.) And therefore not until seventy

times seven and once? The Spirit answers the question. Thus it is that the Holy Scripture, like a genuine book of the people, without reducing its precepts into methodical clauses, and thereby evaporating all their force, calculates universally upon the Spirit as an interpreter, and cannot where that is wanting, be understood.

Another trait belonging to the popular character of the diction of Christ and the Apostles is *figurativeness*. Of this, exemplification is a particular species. A happily chosen image is that mode of expression of which Augustine so beautifully says, that it "becomes little to the little, and great to the great." It is intelligible to the child. Into the mind of the unenlightened hearer it falls like a seed, which, through the fructifying operation of the *spiritus interpretres*, gradually casts off the husk, and waxes to a tree. A well chosen image is also, however, the most pleasing mode of expression for the highly gifted, for it not only addresses itself to *all* men, but to the *whole* man. It calls equally into exercise, fancy, wit, intellect, and feeling. All true popular orators have been aware of this; but our modern insipid preachers of morality have overlooked it to their own disadvantage. Now, this parabolical and figurative style of diction we find in the New Testament, which is chiefly to be accounted for from the circumstance, that that is the growth of an Oriental soil. The observations which we made at page 24th of the Introduction, show to what an extent figurative expression had become prevalent in the public discourses of the Jews, at the time of our Saviour. The

first advantage of the use of such diction, accordingly was, that Christ's discourse was thereby intelligible to the nation.^a Here, however, is just a case in which, what was *national to the Hebrews*, was at the same time *truly universal*. How immeasurably more impressive than if the bare abstract ideas were expressed, are such sayings of Christ as the following: "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee." "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." "Let the dead bury their dead," &c. This very character of the New Testament diction, might, however, on the other hand, when the Spirit did not lend its aid as interpreter, occasion many mistakes, inasmuch as an image, still more than ordinary language, requires to be understood, *cum grano salis*. From such an unspiritual misapprehension of Luke x. 4, e. g. has the principle of the Quakers not to salute, taken its origin.^b

^a It is worth while to attend to a remark which, on this occasion, strongly suggests itself, viz. what an influence the Spirit of the Saviour exercises even upon the parabolical expressions which he used. In the sermon on the Mount, many of these are closely allied with *dicta* of the Rabbins, which may be found collected by Corrodi in the *Beyträgen zur Beförderung des vernünftigen Denkens*, Heft v. seite 90; but they are in part so indecent, that the Translator did not deem it right to quote them, without alteration. As an example, let the saying of Christ, "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek," &c. be compared with the Rabbinical dictum: "When a neighbour calls thee ass, put a hamper on thy back." Michaelis makes a similar observation, Einl. ins N. T. Th. i. s. 144, 4te. Ausg.

^b It is a very singular inconsistency in this otherwise

These introductory remarks may suffice to place us at the general point of view, from which the following sayings are to be apprehended.

We can exemplify the meaning of the affirmation in verses 21, 22, and, at the same time, of what we understand by the spiritual construction of the commandments of Christ in no better way than by quoting the admirable elucidation which Luther gives of these verses. Luther, indeed, may serve in more respects than one, as voucher for the remarks we have made above. He was the Man of the people, and nothing differs more from his manner, than distributing into clauses, or by nice distinctions, exactly defining his words. Whoever wants the Spirit to reconcile them, will find in him contradiction upon contradiction. Nor did any ever know better how to handle proverbial parabolic diction; and, moreover, he is just the finest example, to prove that a simple upright mind and pious heart will know to put the true interpretation upon the words of our Saviour, even when they are without "borders and fringes." How profoundly, and yet at the same time, in how universally intelligible a way, does he explain this 21st and 22d verse? "Now, Christ takes up this command, and means as it were to say, Ye have heard from the Pharisees, how Moses ordained, and how, from ancient times, it has been taught, Thou shalt not kill.

highly estimable Christian sect, that while they hold fast the direct literal sense of many precepts, they protest against understanding the words of the institution in baptism and the Lord's Supper, in any other than a spiritual sense.

And on that account, you flatter and pride yourselves, and stalk about as persons diligent in studying and practising God's commandment, as they have learnt from Moses, and as it has been handed down by the ancients. You build upon, and boast of this, that it is Moses himself who says, Thou shalt not kill. You stop short at the letter, and will let it have no other than the plain meaning which the sound conveys, so that the simplest must acknowledge, that of a truth it stands so in the book. And thus you darken the words with your loud assertions and corrupt glosses, so that it is impossible to see what they imply or express. For, do you suppose, that he speaks merely of your fist, when he says, Thou shalt not kill? What then does *thou* mean? It does not simply mean thy hand, or foot, or tongue, or any other single member, but *all that thou art both in body and soul*. Just as if I should say to any one, Thou shalt not do that, I address myself not to the fist but to the whole person. Yea, even were I to say, thy hand shall not do so, still it is not the hand alone I mean, but the entire person whose the hand is; for the hand itself could do nothing, if the body, with all its members, did not co-operate. Hence it is that, Thou shalt not kill, expresses as much as if he had said, Whatever members you have, and however many ways you may find to kill, whether it be with hand, or tongue, or heart, or sign, or gestures; whether you look surly, and refuse with your eyes to let your neighbour live, or whether you do so with your ears, when you hate to hear him talked of—all that means to kill. For then is your heart and all about you so disposed, as

to wish that he were already dead. And though the hand be motionless the while, and the tongue silent, and eyes and ears refrain, still the heart is full of murder and bloodshed."

In the 21st verse we have to notice, in reference to the language, the *ὤ* joined to the future in the prohibitory clauses of the law; upon which compare *Winer, Gramm. s. 260.* "Ἔσται in verses 21 and 22 might be taken imperatively, as afterwards at ver. 48, c. vi. 5; See Alt, *Gramm. N. T.* p. 137. This is not necessary, however, and we may still abide by the pure idea of the future.

Let us now examine in particular, 1st, the different degrees of the transgression; 2d, The name ἀδελφός; and 3d, The different degrees of the punishment: After which we shall deduce the exegetical result.

1. With regard to the different grades of the transgression, the word *ὀργίζεσθαι*, as likewise the Hebrew *עָרַץ*, *עָרַץ*, according to the etymon, (*ὀργάω*, *ὀργέγω*) signifies *a vehement emotion of the mind*; and that, in the later *usus loquendi*, of such a kind as to cause another harm.^a So, on the other hand, *ἀγαπάω* (*ἀγάω*, *γάω*=*χάω*, *χανδάνω*), *to arise, to open one's self towards* another; and in Hebrew *אָהַב* and *רָבַח*, (cognate with *אָהַב* and *רָבַח* *cupere, capere*,) denote a vehement emotion, which seeks to *possess and*

^a Originally it denoted every impulse, even the ebullition of Love! Hence *ὀργὰς* or *ὀργὴν ἐπιφέρειν τινί*. "To turn the affections towards any one." See the Scholiast upon Thucydides, l. viii. ed. Bip. p. 592: τὸ ἐπιφέρειν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ συγχωρεῖν ἵστατον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι.

receive another into one's self. Just as every passion which does not stand under the government of knowledge, is faulty, so are both of these. In the *usus loquendi*, however, it is chiefly ὀργή, which has acquired the bad accessory sense of a blind passion, not guided by knowledge; so that, Jas. i. 20, it is directly affirmed: Ὀργὴ ἀνδρός δικαιοσύνην Θεοῦ οὐ κατεργάζεται, and, Col. iii. 8, among other vices, anger is forbidden to the Christian; comp. 1 Tim. ii. 8. At the same time, both the Old and New Testaments, in ascribing ὀργή to the Divine Being, recognize likewise an emotion guided by knowledge, and consequently *holy*, which yet brings evil upon another. Hence the ὀργίζεσθαι is predicated even of Christ, Mark iii. 5; and in Eph. iv. 26, the Apostle permits us to be angry, but not to sin; so that anger is not contemplated as necessarily connected with sin. Were the reading εἰκῆ authentic, this very passage would serve to shew, that the New Testament recognizes a *holy* kind of anger. Εἰκῆ would then have to be translated not *sine causa*, but *temere*, which is more comprehensive. In Polybius, l. i. 52, 2, we find conjoined εἰκῆ and ἀλογίστως. Even when we admit that εἰκῆ is not genuine, it results sufficiently from the context, that the particular emotion here meant is one not under the sway of knowledge.^a

^a Euthymius: Προσθεῖς δὲ τὸ εἰκῆ, οὐκ ἀνεῖλε πανταπάσι τῆν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ μόνην, τῆν ἄκαιρον ἐξέβαλεν· ἡ γὰρ εὐκαίρος, ἀφίλιμος. "Ἐπι δὲ εὐκαιρος ὀργὴ ἢ γινομένη κατὰ τῶν πολιτευομένων ἐναντίως τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅταν μὴ πρὸς ἐκδίκῃσιν ἢ μετέραν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀφίλειαν τῶν κακῶς βιούντων ἐξ

This leads us to a consideration of the reading. After Erasmus, Luther, Mill, Pfaff, Bengel^a and Eichhorn, (according to whom it was not in the primitive gospel,^b) had banished *εἰκῆ* from the text, it has found in Griesbach, Comment. Criticus in textum N. T., Part i. p. 46, a zealous defender. As respects the outward authorities of the Codices and Versions for and against the word, they do not, as Griesbach shews, merely equiponderate, but those in its favour are the more weighty. It is omitted in the Codex Vaticanus in 48, 198, in the Ethiopic, the Arabic Polyglott translation, in the Anglo-Saxon and the Vulgate. On the other hand, it is to be found in the Cod. Cant., as well as in all other Greek Codices, in the Syriac Polyglott version, in the Phyloxenian, Koptic, Armenian, Gothic and Sclavonic, &c. As to the omission of the word, however, in the former authorities, Griesbach rests upon the argument, that that may be much more easily explained from the mode of thinking prevalent in the three first centuries, than its interpolation could be. In proof of this he appeals to the avowals of Jerome and Cassian, of whom it is undeniable, that they removed it for doctrinal reasons. Jerome, in

ἀγάπης καὶ φιλαδέλφιας ὀργιζώμεθα. Grotius : Merito *εἰκῆ* additum. Neque enim iracundus est quisquis irasci solet, sed qui οὐδ' οὐ δεῖ, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς οὐ δεῖ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ, ut Aristoteles loquitur. Compare Luther's admirable words on this text about lawful anger.

^a Bengel : Plane humanum hæcce glossa sensum redolet. Ne pharisæi quidem *sine causa* irasci fas esse contenderunt.

^b Einleit. i. 415—667.

his comment on the text, says: Radendum est ergo *sine causa*, quia ira viri justitiam Dei non operatur. Cassian De Instit. Coenob. viii. 20, says that *sine causa* has been superfluously interpolated by those, qui amputandam iram pro justis causis minime putaverunt, quum utique nullus, quamlibet absque ratione commotus, sine causa dicat irasci. Now, although Jerome affirms that *sine causa* did not appear in *plerisque antiquis Codicibus*, this is not, however, quite certain. At least Blanchinus found it in translations of a date anterior to Jerome's time, in the Codex Vercellensis, Veronensis, Corbejensis and Brixianus; and even the father himself did not, at an earlier period of his life, venture to leave it out;^a nor yet in a work which he composed in his later years, Pelag. l. ii. § 5, where he quotes the passage with the *sine causa*, although it is here he says that the words are wanting in *plerisque antiquis Codicibus*. The Latin fathers too, Augustine, Cyprian, Hilary, and the author of the Opus Imperfectum, read the *sine causa*. Nor can it be denied that much speaks in favour of its genuineness, as recently Käufer, Meyer, and others have again done. Still, however, we must say of the doctrinal argument of Griesbach, that it is not sufficient; For what he proves with respect to Jerome and Cassian, is less applicable to the other ecclesiastical fathers. These two were just the principal founders of the more severe Monachism, and their monkish notions of morality, combining with

^a In the letter ad Castorinam, Ep. xiii.

views derived from the stoical philosophy, might easily lead them to take offence at every manifestation of feeling ; Whereas it may be shewn that the majority of the fathers of the ancient church expressly asserted that there was a right kind of anger, so that it is much more easy to account for the interpolation than the omission.^a We must further add, that *εἰκῆ* in this passage would take away all nerve from the stern tone of the lawgiver. And should it be objected, that it was indispensable in order to prevent mistakes, the following sayings in vers. 34, 39, 40, 42, would have equally, nay much more, required some supplement.

Under these circumstances, we profess that we dare not venture unconditionally to defend the reception of the word into the text.

The second grade of anger is the utterance of the word *Ῥακά*. Now, as to what that means, a diversity of opinion reigned even among the ancients. First of all, we have to discard a derivation of it, mentioned by Augustine and adopted by the Ethiopic translation, from the Greek *Ῥάκος*, *Beggar*.^b More deserving of consideration is the opinion that

^a See, for example, what Chrysostom says in the sequel at v. 27 and 28 : *Ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς ὀργῆς διορισμὸν τινα τίθεικεν, εἰπὼν τὸ εἰκῆ· ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐχ' οὕτως, ἀλλὰ κατὰπαξ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀνεῖλε, καίτοιγε ἀμφοτέρω ἔγκειται.* Comp. what Augustine, Sermon ii. in Ps. xxx. (Tom. iv. ed. Ben. p. 117,) says upon the anger of the righteous, with allusion to John ii. 17.

^b In a fragment from Nicostratus we likewise find the exclamation : *ὦ κατὰπτυστον ῥάκος !* It is there, however, not a general expression of scorn ; but actually is applied to a garment. See Suidas, s. v. *κατὰπτυστον*.

the word is a simple interjection, an expression of contempt, like the Latin *Hem*, as it were, derived from the root קקק, and hence equivalent to the old English, *Out upon thee!* Augustine informs us that a Jew told him the word had no specific meaning, but was merely expressive of disdain. It is to this that Chrysostom likewise virtually comes back, when he says, that among the Syrians the word signifies the same as the threatening Σύ among the Greeks. If it could with propriety be taken in this sense, there would then be gained the advantage of a gradation, as first Augustine, and afterwards Erasmus, Beza and Cocceius supposed, who considered the ὀργίζεσθαι as signifying the *ira restricti animi*, (χαλεπαίνειν) as Tertullian denominates it, 'Ρακά, the breaking forth in utterance (ἐρήγνυσθαι), and Μωρέ as properly denoting abusive language (κακολογία). If 'Ρακά be an interjection, we can then also most easily understand why it has been left by the Evangelist untranslated. These reasons, however, do not suffice to obviate the objection which stands against this explanation, viz. That the interjectional import of the word is undemonstrated, and besides, that in connection with the word ὅς ἂν εἴπη τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ we naturally expect not so much an interjection as a nickname. The other explanation which we find in Jerome, Hilary, the author of the *Opus Imperf.* and the Greek Scholia, is that which, since the time of Grotius, has met with most approbation, and which almost all more modern commentators have adopted. According to it, the word is the Hebrew ק'ק, not taken so much in the sense of *nequam*, which it has in Hebrew,

Judges ix. 4; xi. 3; 2 Sam. vi. 20, as in the sense of *cerebro carens*, *Blockhead*. The most obvious disadvantage, however, connected with this interpretation, viz. That then the name expresses precisely the same as the subsequent *Μωρός*—*Ῥακά* is then = to *ἄφρων, κενεόφρων*—is avoided by the supposition that this word was in the *usus loquendi* less forcible than *μωρός*. Thus the author of the *Opus. Imp.* says: *Vulgare verbum erat apud Judæos, quod non ex ira neque ex odio, sed ex aliquo motu varie dicebant magis fiducia causa quam iracundiæ.* In fact the Rabbins used *מוך קר* when they wished to convey a gentle reproach. Compare in particular Drusius, who treats of the word at great detail,^a and Lightfoot on the text. But what renders this derivation doubtful, is the manner in which the word is written. If *Ῥακά* be the Chaldaic *רִיקָא*, why is it not spelt *ῆγκά*, in the same way as *כִּפָּא* is in Greek, spelt *κηφᾶς*, and all the compounds of *בֵּית* e. g., *Βηθλεέμ, Βηθσαιῖδά, Βηθφαγή*; Or why not also *ῆαικά*, after the analogy of *Βαιθήλ, Γαιβάλ (עֵיבֵל), Καινᾶν (כַּיִן)*? We have to add that the Syriac translator uses^b *ܩܐ*; a word by no means synonymous with *רִיק*. Had he wished

^a Comment. ad. voc. Hebr. N. T. and Proverbia classis ii. Lib. iv. No. 16.

^b We here append a remark upon the sound of A, which all Aramæic words in the N. T. are known to possess. This fact is universally admitted: But how can it be reconciled with the other, that the Syriac was the common language of Galilee, (Michaelis, *Einleit. in, N. T. i.* 145,) that the inhabitants of Tiberias pronounced the Kametz like O, (Gesenius *Lehrgeb. s.* 39), and that in general under the government of the Seleucidæ, the Syriac exercised the strongest influence

to express this, he must have written ܐܘܪܝܢ. And should it be objected that he has slavishly copied the Greek orthography, an appeal in proof of the reverse may be made to Acts i.

upon that dialect of the Chaldaic, which the Israelites brought back with them from the captivity? While some contend that this is the pronunciation in the more refined dialect of Jerusalem, others seek the cause of it in the hilly character of Palestine, which endeared to the natives, as it does to the inhabitants of all mountainous regions, the sound of *a*. Others give a different account. Why, however, do they refuse to stop short at what is the most natural explanation, viz. That the Hebrews preserved in its purity, at least at that time, the pronunciation which they brought with them from East Aram? Ought not the corrupt language which we find in the Jerusalem Talmud much rather be called Chaldaic than Syriac? The name Syro-Chaldaic, which is derived from Origen, is doubtless unfounded, and ought to be changed for that which Pfannkuche proposed, viz. the Aramæic or Chaldaic of Palestine. But even supposing that the Syriac pronunciation had an effect, especially upon the adjacent Galilee, is the *o* sound in the western Aramæic to be supposed at the time of Christ? The rudiments of our diacritical signs in the Syriac, do not, even according to the latest investigations (Hupfeld's excellent essay in the *Studien und Kritiken*, iii. 4. 790), extend beyond the sixth century. At this very time our oldest accounts of the discrepancy in the pronunciation of the *a* sound between the East and West Aramæans also fall (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* ii. 407), with which the inquiry regarding the vowel points synchronizes, (Hupfeld, s. 808). Supposing, however, that the Syrian pronunciation had an influence upon that of Palestine, still in the time of Christ, this was not at all different from the East Aramæic, as, in general, the difference of the two dialects is problematical. (See Hupfeld, *Studien und Kritiken*, iii. 2, 293).

19, where he restores the Greek *Aceldama* not according to the defective Greek orthography, but according to the Syriac. Now, the word which he here gives לֹ; answers in point of form not to the Hebrew רִיק, but to רַק, from רַקַק *to be thin*; Whence in Syriac come also the substantives לֹ; and לֹ; *levitas, contemptibilitas*. To this derivation of the word points the double *z* with which ῥακκά is spelt in Cod. 13, 106, in Wetstein's Gloss. Alb., Theodoret (Opp. T. iv. 946.) In the Philoxenian Translation, likewise, the Ridley Cod. has לֹ; the Cod. Par., on the contrary לֹ; and Cod. Barsal. ִ; (See Eichhorn's Repert. vii. 26; x. 21). To this derivation points also the gloss of Theophylact: Τινὲς δὲ τὸ ῥακκά συριστι κατάπτυστόν φασι σημαίνειν. They who thus expounded took the root ִ; in the sense of *exspuit*, which we hold to be only secondary. The decision betwixt the two derivations we take from the passages of the Rabbins. These show incontestably, that רִיק or רִיקָא was, among the Jews of Palestine, very commonly used as a *gentle* term of reproach. That, along with it, there was another רַקַק in the sense of *vilis* equally in vogue, is a groundless supposition; the more so that Castellus and Schaaf, as it seems, took this adjective only from the N. T. The Greek mode of spelling is doubtless irregular; still, however, no great weight can be laid upon that. The Septuagint sometimes write the Hebrew יִ with the short vowel *e*, as in Ἐλάμ ἔιλם, nay, I have stumbled on an instance where they even put *a* for it. The city of the Levites מִיפֶעַת, Josh. xxi. 37, is written

Μαρά, whereas Josh. xiii. 18, it is Μαιραάθ, and in Jer. xlvi. 21, even Μωράς. The Chithib, however, here reads מופעת. Perhaps, also, the ancient pronunciation underwent a change, as *e. g.* the inhabitants of Jerusalem said ב'י, *son*, instead of בר, and the Galileans pronounced the Schwa as if it were *oa*; see Βοανεργές, Mark iii. 17. As regards the Syriac interpreter, however, we must suppose that in Syria that term of reproach was not current, and hence, that he adhered to the tone of the Greek word, as the final *a* sound likewise shews. There may also be a dispute as to the sense of the word מ'י among the Rabbins, viz. whether it signifies persons *light* or *void* with respect to character, as in our translation of the Old Testament, or with respect to understanding. The latter deserves the preference, as in several passages מ'י is expressly joined with it. See the passages from Aben Ezra, in Drusius. Accordingly it is wrong in De Wette to translate “Taugenichts” *good for nothing*.^a

We now pass to the other term of opprobrium, Μωός. It may be said, that, according to the way in which we understand ἕακά, it is not weaker than Μωός, and hence that there is not here that gradation which is required. This objection is, however, of

^a Luther, like the Vulgate, has “Racha” which is the more likely to lead the German reader astray, by making him think of *Rache*. The word is also spelt with *χ* in the Cod. Cantab. ἕαχά. The *χ* is irregularly put in the N. Test. and sometimes also elsewhere, for *ק* in Aramæic; so Matt. xxvii. 46, σαλαχθαι for שבקתני.

little moment, as any one, even from modern languages, may remember how arbitrary is the force of appellations of this kind, and that the very coarsest become at last the most gentle, in consequence of being frequently used. Now that ῥακά was in every day life quite a common nickname, we are informed by several of the fathers. In the very fact also that, in the *usus loquendi*, it had lost its primitive significance, and was generally known at the time as a gentle kind of nickname, we have to seek the reason why the Aramæic word has been retained in the Greek work of Matthew. This circumstance, we are convinced, goes far enough to vindicate the position of the *μωρός* after ῥακά. Modern interpreters have almost unanimously embraced the opinion of Nachtigall,^a who, in an essay upon the word,^b enforces the O. T. *usus loquendi*, according to which, wisdom, in the highest sense, always includes the fear of God, and foolishness is the designation of idolatry and ungodliness. Even Phavorinus observes upon the word *Μωρός*: *ἐίρηται και ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀθέου και ἀπίστου*. So, in like manner, Dilherr, *Farrago Rituum Sacrorum*, p. 171: *Dicimus itaque Μωρόε secundum Ebraicam consuetudinem debere accipi, apud quos נבל dicitur homo impius et ἄθεος*, and also Lightfoot. This supposition, however, to say the least, is very doubtful,

^a Some time prior Ernest Aug. Schulze had, in his *Spec. in Matt. Frank.* 1758, explained the word like Nachtigall, but remained unknown.

^b *Neues Magazin für Religionsphilosophie*, Von Henke, iii. s. 190.

for the emphatic accessory sense had by no means fixed itself, and in the other passages where *Μωρός* appears, as Matt. vii. 26; xxiii. 17, 19; xxv. 2, 3, 8, is not at all to be found.

2. We must also direct our attention to the word *ἀδελφός*. Here and at vers. 23, 24; viii. 15, 21, in the sequel, Christ calls our neighbour, *brother*. In this case also we have to distinguish between the sense in which he used the word, and that in which it was apprehended by his carnal minded hearers. With them the *ἀδελφός* and *ὁ πλησίον* were merely synonymous with *compatriot*; or it signified, in general, *another*, which Erasmus and Grotius adopted for the meaning here: *alteri cuivis*. (See annotations on ver. 43). But the sense in which Christ apprehended terms of this kind, is shewn by what he says Matt. xxiii. 8, 9, about the names *Father* and *Brother*. Just as *υἱὸς θεοῦ* (compare observ. on ver. 9) in its lower signification, may be applied to all men, but means, according to its more perfect signification, the *regenerated man*, so also does *ἀδελφός*, on the one hand, designate, generally, *man in his relation to his neighbour*; inasmuch as, according to Acts xvii. 26, being all sprung from one blood, they constitute one family, and in so far are bound to mutual affection.^a But, with deeper truth, it designates *the believer in relation to his fellow believers*, seeing that, according to 1 Pet. i. 23, these have all been born of incorruptible

^a In this deeper sense even Epictetus used the word, l. i. c. 13, § 3: Ἀνδράποδον, οὐκ ἀνέξῃ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ σαυτοῦ, ὃς ἔχει τὸν Δία πρόγονον, ὡσπερ υἱὸς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν σπειρμάτων γίγνε, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἄνωθεν καταβολῆς.

seed, and form one spiritual family. Here, where Christ is addressing persons as yet unregenerate, it is the more general acceptation which predominates. If even the more general relation of brotherhood imposes an obligation to love, how much more the higher one?

3. We have further to notice the degrees of the penalty. The meaning of the term *Κρίσις* has, in an antiquarian respect, given rise to disputes. Did it occur nowhere but at ver. 21, in the addition made by the lawyers to the Mosaic commandments, one would feel no scruple to interpret it generally, as signifying the *Judgment*, i. e. the *civil penalty*. The law of Moses allowed vengeance for blood, so that the revenger might put to death the slayer on the spot where he met him. But when civil relations came to be better regulated, the delivery of the murderer to the judgment was introduced; and, in order to guard against private revenge, the lawyers of after times added to the law, That the murderer should be handed over to the judgment. Here then the judgment might be taken at once to signify the *Magistracy in general*, and not so much, as the interpreters state, the *המשפט* as the *הדין*. The climax, however, which Christ makes in the 22d verse, compels us to suppose that some specific subordinate tribunal is meant by *κρίσις*; And this is also confirmed by what we know of the Jewish courts of justice. According to the account of the Rabbins, the Hebrews had 1. In places of less than 120 inhabitants, a court of three members, which had not power to decide upon capital offences, but only in questions of money, *דין ממונות*; 2. In places of more than 120 inhabitants, a court of

twenty-three members competent to try for capital crimes, נפשות 71; Their decisions, however, required to be confirmed by the Sanhedrin; 3. The Sanhedrin of Seventy-two, which also decided all matters of high consequence, such as upon peace and war, upon false prophets, &c.^a The lowest court,

^a Josephus is known to deviate from these accounts, in as far as, according to him, the second tribunal consisted of only seven judges, Antiq. iv. 8, 14 and 38. Comp. de Bello Jud. ii. 20. 5. Moses assigns no number, and so we remain dubious whether to follow the statement of Josephus or that of the Rabbins. Few have ventured, like Selden, at once to charge the former with an error. The majority, without more ado, discard the Rabbinical tradition. In fact, it is difficult to imagine that a public man, such as Josephus was, should not have known the judicial institutions of his country, with which he had even much to do. Of the Rabbinical traditions, also, we become distrustful, when we read the most ancient testimony upon the subject, the Mischna in the Tr. Sanh. c. i. § 6, where the proof that there were, and the reason why there were, twenty-three judges, are brought forward in a very strange manner: To which, over and above, the Gemara adds sundry fabulous intentions, which are obviously purely imaginary. Grotius and Bernard have endeavoured to reconcile the information derived from these two sources, but in a very artificial manner. We look upon the Rabbinical account as erroneous; and for its origin we account as follows: The number twenty-three was, in the later judicial administration of the Jews, holy. Ten voices constituted a [gemeinde;] eleven were required for acquittal; twelve for condemnation. Thus was formed the number twenty-two. But as the number of judges must always be odd, a twenty-third was added. (Selden, De Synedriis, p. 926). By the account of the Talmud, this number of members required to be present before the Sanhedrin could pass sentence. In face of the

that of the three members, to which Beza and Caninius have applied the saying, is out of the question, because it had not, what ver. 21 presumes, the power of punishing murder. We should then have to understand by κρίσις the second court of justice, after which the Sanhedrin would quite properly follow. The gradation from the lower to the higher court, serves also at the same time to shew the ascent of the punishment; as results even from the circumstance that in the third instance the penalty itself, viz. Gehenna, is mentioned. For that reason, in place of ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ γέεννᾳ, there stands εἰς τὴν γέενναν, which εἰς does certainly not designate the dative, and still less is to be construed by *usque ad*, but rather, being joined in compendious construction with ἔνοχος, signifies *motion towards* a place, just as, among the Greeks, εἰς κόρακας, εἰς μακαρίαν, and *ad Gemonias Scalas*, among the Romans. The scale of penalties likewise harmonizes with what we know of Jewish antiquities. The punishment

semicircle of ordinary members, sat three rows of three-and-twenty scholars, from which the vacancies in the Sanhedrin were supplied. (Selden, l. ii. c. 6. Jost. Geschichte der Juden, iii. s. 87). Now, if once the number twenty-three had acquired this importance in the constitution of the Sanhedrin, the opinion might, in after times, easily arise, that the lower courts possessed the same quota of judges. Compare chiefly Selden, l. ii. c. 5 and 6. Voisin, in his *Anmerk. zum Pugio Fidei*, P. ii. c. 4. Wagenseil, Söta, p. 15. Leusden, Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, p. 344. Krebs, ad h. l. Hartmann has also, in his *Zusammenhang des N. and A. T.* lately spoken on the subject, yet without bringing any thing new to light.

ordained for murder was *death by the sword*; which it was in the competency of the inferior court to inflict. Again, that ordained for false prophesying, idolatry, &c. was *stoning*, which could only be awarded by the Sanhedrin. A third still higher degree of penalty, was *death by fire*. There can be no doubt but that it is to this the $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha$ refers.^a The decisions of commentators, as to what the term means, have almost always proceeded upon the annotation of Kimchi to Psalm xxvii.;^b in reference to which Beza, even in his time, says: Quam verum sit quod Kimchi notat ad Psalm xxvii., nescio. The annotation, however, can be confirmed historically. In order to render abominable the place where the worship of Moloch had been performed, King Josias caused Topheth, in the Valley of the Children of Hinnom, to be defiled with dead bodies (2 Kings xxiii. 10). From that period the spot seems to have served permanently for the deposit of corpses which were intended to be suffered to decay unburied, (Jer. vii. 32, 33). Now, that these should, from time to time, have been burnt with fire, in order to prevent pestilential exhalations, does not, even independent of

^a The most solid information upon $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha$, although by no means exhausting the subject, is to be met with in the excellent *Lectiones Variæ* of Sam. Petitus. They are to be found in the seventh volume of the Frankfort ed. of the *Critici Sacri*, among the *Tractatus Varii*.

^b Kimchi's words are as follows: גהינם סמוך לירושלם: והוא מקום נמאס ומשליכים שם הטומאות והנבלות והיה שם אש תמיד לשרוף הטומאות ועצמות. Consonant with which, is R. Jehud Levita in the Book Kosri, ed. Buxtorf. p. 72.

positive evidence, appear at all unlikely. The fact, however, may be concluded with certainty, from the figurative signification which γέεννα obtained as the place of fiery torment beyond the grave. ^a (Thus among the Rabbins, see Bartolucci Bibl. Rabb. ii. 28, in the N. T. besides the present passage, Mark ix. 43—48; Matt. xxv. 41; Jam. iii. 6; Rev. xix. 20). The texts of the Apocrypha, Ecclesiasticus vii. 17, Judith xvi. 17, form the transition to the New Testament figure. The latter of these speaks poetically of *everlasting* fire, and worms in the *flesh* of the ungodly; consequently it ascribes to their carcasses an eternal sense of the torment of rotting unburied, or being consumed in flame. It may likewise, however, be inferred from this, that the word cannot denote the punishment of being burnt alive,^b but merely the burning of the unburied corpse: Although, at the same time, nothing hinders us from supposing that Christ meant here to specify some punishment out of the ordinary course of justice, and of an unusually terrible kind.

Having thus defined the single words, we now advance to the statement of the sense in general. And,

^a Were תפח, according to Lorschach, to be derived from the Persic word, which means *to burn*, and had the spot obtained the name from having served even among the heathen as a place for burning the dead, it could be more easily explained why the Jews afterwards came to consume here the corpses of malefactors. In that case the place would have been in every respect, and at all times, a scene of burning.

^b We must also add, that at least, according to the statement of the Rabbins, the punishment of burning alive consisted always in the pouring in of melted lead. See Hottinger, Jus. Hebræor. p. 334.

first, we can demonstrate undeniably, that the *ὀργίζεσθαι*, and the saying *ῥακά* and *μωρέ* must not be understood in a rigidly literal, or, to speak more precisely, in an absolute sense.^a For, in that case, it may be shewn, that Christ and the Apostles themselves transgressed the precept. The emotion of *ὀργή* is expressly ascribed to former, Mark iii. 5; (In John ii. 15, and at Matt. xxiii. 13, it must necessarily be presumed); In Eph. iv. 26, Paul also declares that anger may take place and yet without sin. James, in chap. ii. 20, utters the *ῥακά*, when he calls to the man pretending to faith without works: *ὦ ἄνθρωπε κενέ*. Christ applies *μωροί* not only to the Pharisees, but even to his own disciples, Matt. xxiii. 17, 19; Luke xxiv. 25; Comp. Gal. iii. 1, 3. Hence in explaining the words, we must proceed upon the intention of the divine lawgiver, which is here to shew that the current Jewish morality did not exhaust the whole import of the precept, Thou shalt not kill, when it referred that to the mere external act of manslaughter. On the contrary, as Christ means to say, the law condemns murder, up to its faintest rudiments in the heart. We consequently can only suppose such an *ὀργίζεσθαι* and such a saying of *ῥακά* and *μωρέ* as actually lie *upon the*

^a That at a very early period of the history of the church, this was often done, is mentioned by Chrysostom, who in his book *De Compunctione*, b. i. c. 2, tells us that there were some who imagined they sufficiently observed the commandment of Christ, by just carefully avoiding to use the word *μωρέ*. Another example of the merely literal observance of a commandment amounting to a breach of it.

same line with the φονεύειν considered as external act ; just as, upon the other hand, the law of God forbids only that kind of φονεύειν which has been preceded by an ὀργίζεσθαι, not under the control of knowledge, and consequently not regulated by the law. Hence just as little as the commandment not to kill, abolishes the right to put to death, exercised by magistracy in the room of God, (Rom. i. 3), no more does the precept under review prohibit such an emotion of anger or application of the word μωρέ as Christ might have felt or made. Because, inasmuch as in his case these emanated from an affection of mind which, both in respect of its source, object, and measure, stood under the Divine law, never would a murder have proceeded from them. The anger, therefore, from which murder arises, and that of such a being as Christ, are not only different in degree, but even in kind, lying upon two perfectly distinct lines. In the declaration of John, 1 Ep. iii. 15, that Apostle seems to have had this saying of his Master before his eyes.

Now, with respect to the penalties which the Saviour assigns to the various grades of the desire to kill, we remark, that they belong to this terrestrial existence, and the criminal jurisprudence of men. Of course, however, it cannot have been his intention that terrestrial tribunals should really administer them in the manner stated ; for wrath, as an internal emotion, cannot come under the cognizance of any such court, and hence they rather designate mere *liability* to punishment, without regard to the infliction of it by an earthly judge. Still, as all evil which such a

judge does not duly punish, is, by the requirements of justice, devolved upon the Judge eternal, it may, in so far, be said that these degrees of the sublunary punishment are representative of the degrees of the punishment hereafter.^a

The reason why our Saviour describes liability to punishment by a reference to terrestrial penalties, is to be sought in the fact, that he chimes in with the pharisaical maxim, v. 21, and in contrast therewith, means to represent the stricter standard of his own and the Divine judgment. Hence he decrees the penalty connected by the former, v. 21, with the outbreking of the deed, to the very first origin and germ of it. Moreover, from what has been said, we may draw the weighty inference, that the disposition which lies on the same line with the act of sin, does, nevertheless, not make the subject of the disposition equally criminal with the doer of the act; for instance, it does not do this when the reason of the sin not proceeding to the act, lies not in any external hinderance, but in the circumstance that the sinful disposition has not yet attained a sufficient degree of ripeness.

There follow two appendages, which are designed still more to enforce the odiousness of an inordinate *ὀργιζέσθαι* in the sight of God. For upon the supposition that a passion of this kind is really cherish-

^a It is a singular caprice, when Matth. Pfaff, in his *Notæ* in *Ev. Matth.* p. 92, refers the *κρίσις* and *γένηνα* to the tribunal of God, but the *συνέδριον*, which lies between, to the terrestrial court. Comp. Lightfoot and Schöttgen. As indefensible is the opinion of Episcopius, that no difference of degree is stated.

ed, then, considering the severe penalty it entails (hence the inferential *οἶν*), rather ought the most sacred act of worship to be interrupted, than reconciliation deferred. Compare the admonition, Eph. iv. 26, “Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.”^a In general, reconciliation ought never to be deferred, forasmuch as the Divine judgment may intervene in a moment, and is inexorably severe. In annexing these further admonitions, the Saviour has again, in the first instance, the circumstances and disorders of his own times before his eyes. An unbridled thirst for revenge ruled both in public and private life; to which every page of Josephus bears testimony. While the carnal piety of the Pharisees fancied that it could buy itself off from the rigid observance of the moral law, by punctuality in the ritual worship. This is the very disposition which Hosea reprehends, chap. vi. 6. Compare Matt. ix. 13; xv. 7—9; xxiii. 23.

The sentence, ver. 25 and 26, standing as it does so loosely appended, without a conjunctive particle, to the preceding context—a subject upon which we

^a At this text, the question suggests itself, supposing Paul to speak of a reprehensible kind of anger, how can he separate sinfulness from such a passion? Again, supposing him to speak of anger of a lawful kind, how can he exhort not to retain it over night? We must imagine to ourselves, that the Apostle takes the word anger the second time in the common sense, in which it means an inordinate emotion. This he does not tolerate *until* evening, but says, that, at least, it ought not to last beyond it. Bengel: *Affectus nocte retentus alte insidet.*

have already spoken, p. 16,—has excited the suspicion that it is out of the original connection in which it was pronounced by our Saviour. Now, this supposition might certainly be sustained, provided that we found the saying at any other part of the gospels more appositely introduced. That, however, is by no means the case. On the contrary, we find it somewhat modified at Luke xii. 58, 59, in such a connection as has baffled all the attempts of Grotius, Storr, and Olshausen, to point out the sequence of the ideas in any way so as not to have the appearance of being forced; whereas, in the present instance, the transition from the 23d and 24th to the 25th verse, is just as obvious as that from the 22d to the 23d, where the *οὖν* forms the concatenating link. The want of a closer connection must appear the less surprising, when we take into view the character of the sentence. It is a sentiment of such a sort as might be introduced into the most various trains of ideas. Were any to object, that these supplementary statements of ver. 23—26 enfeeble the impression of the 22d, inasmuch as the contrast between the old and the new legislation would be much more striking without them, the remark is doubtless just. It would, however, be very arbitrary to found upon it the conclusion, that they proceeded merely from the pen of the Evangelist; the more so, considering that we do not find in the sequel the sharp antithesis which is required between the old and new law, but ver. 28 carries along with it, in vers. 29 and 30, the like sort of appended propositions, as does ver. 44 in vers. 46 and 47.

V. 23, 24. As the Saviour speaks from amidst the

relations of his time, it ought not to surprise us that the continuance of the Jewish worship is presumed. This is likewise the case elsewhere, c. vi. 5, 17; vii. 15; x. 41; xviii. 17. It is interesting to observe how, at an after period, when the Jewish worship had perished, similar declarations were, by general consent, and in a most natural way, transferred to the corresponding relations in the Christian economy.^a Nor should this be at all astonishing, inasmuch as the Old Testament relations, reposing as they did upon the same ideas, were under a more spiritual form impressed afresh upon those of the New. Thus it was, that under this dispensation, even in the first centuries, what is here said of the offering upon the altar was applied to the Eucharist, and thence arose the beautiful custom, that the members of a family, before participating in the holy Supper, asked from each other the forgiveness of all mutual injuries.^b The form in which the Saviour delivers

^a It must be observed, however, that in the Roman Catholic Church this took place with a closer adherence to Judaism. Thus the controversialists of that church deduced from the offering and altar, inferences in favour of the mass, and of the permanent use of altars. See Spanheim, *Dubia Evang.* iii. 832.

^b Dionys. Areop. *De Eccles. Hierarchia*, vii. 3, 8: Οὐ γὰρ ἔνιστοι πρὸς τὸ ἐν συνάγεισθαι, καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς μετέχειν ἰσηναίας ἐνώσειως τοῦς πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διηρημένους. Comp. Corderii *Catena in Psalmos* Tom. iii. p. 322, on Ps. cxlvii. 3, which text is here applied. Upon the principles held by the Rabbins on the subject of placability, compare chiefly L'Empereur on *Maimonides, De Legibus Hebræor. forensibus*, (*Lugd. Bat.* 1637,) p. 221.

this admonition, could not fail to produce a deep impression upon Israelites. It places us at that conjuncture, when the Hebrew has brought his oblation into the outer court, and is waiting for the priest to receive it, that it may be slain in the fore-court of the Levites, (which was divided from that of the people by a railing) and presented upon the altar; for, even from the latter times of the Jewish monarchy, the slaughter of the offered victims had become the exclusive business of the priests. At a moment like this, when the Deity was waiting for the oblation, to interrupt the sacred rite for the sake of any other business, presupposes that to be of the very highest importance.^a Ἐὰν προσφέρῃς—the technical term used with θυσίαις and εὐχεῖς—is not to be understood of the very act of offering, as if that had already commenced, according to Dr. Fritzsche's words: Si igitur offerendo tuo

^a Chrysostom: "Ὁ τῆς ἀγαθότητος! ὦ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τῆς πάντα λόγον ὑπερβαλλούσης! τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν καταφρονεῖ τιμῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸν πλησίον ἀγάπης· δεικνύς, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ πρότερα, ἅπειρ ἠπέιλησεν, ἐξ ἀπεχθείας τινὸς οὐδὲ ἐπιθυμίας κολάσεως ἠπέιλησεν, ἀλλὰ φιλοστοργίας πολλῆς. Τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο τούτων ἡμερῶτερον τῶν ῥημάτων; Ἐκοπτεῖσθω, φησὶν, ἢ ἐμὴ λατρεία, ἵνα ἢ σὴ ἀγάπη μείνῃ. *Angl.* O Benignity, O affection beyond all language to express! He despises the honour paid to himself in comparison of brotherly love. Shewing that the threatenings he had previously uttered arose neither from any feeling of enmity or thirst of vengeance, but were the offspring of glowing affection. For what can be conceived more kind than these words, "Stop my worship, that your love may be preserved."

dono occupatus sis.^a The ἔμπροσθεν of the 24th verse, shews that the act of offering has not yet begun. Hence ἐπί must not be translated with Luther, as if it meant *upon*, but with de Wette *to* the altar. Δῶρον = κορβᾶν, a word which has passed into the phraseology of the Rabbins, and was used of every kind of oblation. Comp. Mat. viii. 4; xv. 5; xxiii. 18. The whole description is striking and picturesque. It is at the altar (ἐκεῖ) consequently in the divine presence, that the remembrance first awakens^b of the need, if seeking forgiveness from God, to be first of all reconciled with our brother. Comp. c. vi. 14; Mark xi. 25; 1 Tim. ii. 8.^c *Before* the altar the offering is left standing, *i. e.*, in the outer court of the Israelites, into which narrow space the people brought their oblations, and then withdrew to the outer court of the women.^d Ὑπαγε and ἐλθών a graphic circumlocution, expressive likewise of haste, Mat. xii. 4; xviii. 15. Τότε πρόσφερε, the offering is not to be left unperformed, but must be accomplished afterwards, and will then be acceptable to God.^e

^a It is incorrect in this commentator to say that Beza seized it in that light. Beza expounds: Si ad altare veneris munus tuum oblaturus.

^b Bengel: Inter rem sacram magis subit recordatio offensarum quam in strepitu negotiorum.

^c Upon these texts was founded the Locus communis of the Christian church, that the μνησικακία makes προσευχαί, ἀπρόσδεκτοι.

^d See Simonis Jud. Alterthümer, by Mursinna, p. 144.

^e Here also does Christ leave the Old Testament worship unimpugned; as at c. xxiii. 3, he expressly enjoins upon the people to observe the precepts of the Scribes, and only calls upon

Moreover, we must at this saying also distinguish between the merely literal interpretation of it, and that according to the Spirit. There is a very carnal way of understanding the word of Christ, still to be found within the precincts of Christianity, and, according to which, men postpone the duty of seeking reconciliation with their brethren, to the time when they take the sacrament, just as the carnal Jews deferred agreement with their enemies until the *יום כפור*. As Christ, in this saying, merely individualizes and exemplifies a more general idea, the order *to go* to the brother cannot be of absolute obligation,^a so soon as we are sensible of our fault towards him: The chief thing, as even Augustine justly remarked, is to go to him not with the feet, but with the heart.^b

the scrupulous Pharisees, while they do the one, not to leave the other undone. From this too it may be inferred with certainty that Christ meant the observance of the ritual laws to continue for some time to come, and that its cessation should only be the gradual consequence of the increase of the Spirit. See Musculus ad. h. l.

^a Michaelis, in his own peculiar manner, notices the difficulties with which the literal observance of the injunction would sometimes be attended. In the first place, as the offerings were all made in Jerusalem, the adversary might perhaps dwell at too great a distance, and besides, might feel it disagreeable if the other were so suddenly to enter his house!

^b Pergendum est ergo non pedibus corporis, sed motibus animi, ut te humili affectu prosternas fratri, ad quem cara cogitatione concurreris, in conspectu ejus cui munus oblaturus est. Ita enim etiam si præsens sit, poteris eum non simulato animo lenire atque in gratiam revocare veniam postulando,

We have still to investigate the three questions, How the ἔχει τί κατὰ σοῦ is to be understood? What is the sense of διαλλάσσειν? and With which of the two imperatives, πρῶτον is to be joined?

1. The indefinite τί must be taken in the sense of ἔγκλημα, κατηγορημα, as elsewhere there occurs μομφήν or μέμψιν ἔχειν πρὸς τινα, Col. iii. 13. Eurip., Orestes. v. 1069. Sophocles, Ajax, v. 180. Æschylus, Prom. Vincetus v. 444. In like manner, ἔχειν τί κατὰ τινος and πρὸς τινα, Mark xi. 25; Rev. ii. 4, 14, 20; Acts xxiv. 19. The Syriac version supplements a *grudge*.^a It may be asked, whether the complaint or hatred of the adversary is to be conceived as well founded, and consequently, the person addressed as the offender; or whether it is to be viewed as emanating from caprice and passion, and hence the person addressed, as the injured and offended party, which is the case in the similar parable, chap. xviii. 33. Chrysostom wavers, uncertain whether to consider the person addressed by our Saviour as a λελυπηκώς or a λελυπημένος, but afterwards decides for the latter, remarking, that if the first were the case, then there would not stand the passive aorist διαλλάγηθι, (which he took up passively, but which has here the middle sense), but instead, κατάλλαξον σεαυτὴν τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου. Euthymius, whom Luther and also Olshausen join, affirms, that Christ exhorts ἀδιορίστως, both the ἀδικήσας, and

si hoc prius coram Deo feceris, pergens ad eum non pigro motu corporis sed celerrimo dilectionis affectu.

^a The Persian translator paraphrases the Syrian text thus, *is injured by a pretence*.

the κακῶς πεπονηθῶς. It may be further inquired, whether the λελυπημένος is to be regarded as incensed with anger, or full of a gentle and forgiving disposition. We might suppose the latter, and affirm, that so much the more lofty is the requirement of the Saviour, if the Christian be not permitted to appear before God until he has brought all his foes to the persuasion of his affection. But, apart altogether from the impossibility of accomplishing this, the way in which the matter is here described, viz. that the gift cannot, *without reconciliation*, prove acceptable to God, and that scruples of conscience awaken before the divine altar, necessarily obliges us, in the case of applying the admonition to the ἀδικηθείς, to suppose him filled with anger; and this the connection also requires. We should then have parallels in chap. vi. 14; 1 Tim. ii. 8; and, above all Mark xi. 25, where the εἴ τι ἔχετε κατὰ τινος applies to the wrong *done by another to us*. But the very use of the phrase in that text, together with the connection in which it stands in the one before us, demands that we should not suppose an ἀδικηθείς, nor yet a person incensed, but an ἀδικήσας. Previously mention is made of one who uses the nicknames ῥακά and μωρέ, and afterwards in verses 25th and 26th, of one, who, on account of undischarged debts, is cast into prison: Moreover, in Mark xi. 25, we read, “if *ye* have ought against *any*,” whereas here it is the reverse. This raises the sense above all doubt, and shews that the τί is not employed to denote any kind of capricious aversion towards another, but a positive grievance we have been guilty of, and that

consisting, as we are here to fancy, in calling him *μωρέ*, or in venting upon him our passion; For, while ver. 22d *warns against* the *ὀργή*, verses 23d and 24th shew how, when it has once been indulged, *the matter may be again made up*.^a By this will our opinion also be determined with respect to the meaning of *διαλλάγηθι*.

The inquiry into this word, and the cognate *καταλλάσσω* is doctrinally of no small consequence, provided that be true which Tittman has not long since propounded, about the meaning of *διαλλάσσω* and *καταλλάσσω*. Even ancient grammarians, as we shall find below, supposed a difference of signification betwixt the two, and some, as Thomas Mag. have affirmed of *διαλλάσσω*, that it is *δοκιμώτερον* than *καταλλάσσω*, although with equally little reason as in the case of many other genuine Attic words which have been discarded by him and Moeris. Tittman has likewise defined the difference in the sense of the two words (De Synonymis N. T. p. 102): Est enim, he says, *διαλλάσσειν* efficere, ut, quæ fuit inimicitia *mutua* ea esse desineat; *καταλλαγή* proprie non est *mutua* reconciliatio, sed alterius. Tittman produces no analogies for this signification of *διά* in compound words. Let any one judge from the following: *διαγωνίζομαι*, *διαβαπτίζομαι*,

^a We hence agree with Augustine, who says: Si in mentem venerit, quod aliquid habeat adversum nos frater, id est, si nos eum in aliquo læsimus, tunc enim ipse habet adversum nos. Nam nos adversus illum habemus si ille nos læsit,—ubi non opus est pergere ad reconciliationem non enim veniam postulabis ab eo qui tibi fecit injuriam, sed tantum dimittes, sicut tibi dimitti a Deo cupis, quod ipse commiseris.

διαπρεσβέω, and others. Were his definition correct, it would prove at once what he and also Usteri,—who does not, however, call Tittman as a voucher, but rests solely on the etymology of the word—wished to establish, viz. that the καταλλαγή which has been effected by Christ is a reconciliation of *man*, and not of *God*. The assertion, however, is totally without foundation. Tittman here deals, as he usually does with his synonyms, seizes on particular examples, but passes in silence over much that is against him. Διαλλάσσεισθαι occurs, both in the Hellenistic and among the classics, in cases where the hostility is all on one side, and καταλλάσσεισθαι in cases where it exists on both. Of this use of διαλλάσσεισθαι we have an indubitable example in the LXX., at 1 Sam. xxix. 4, where the word corresponds with the Hebrew הַיָּגִתָּה , the meaning of which Gesenius in the Latin ed. of his Lexicon, has accurately given, *captavit gratiam alicujus*, inasmuch as it relates only to the reconciliation of the king with David. In like manner, it is used of the reconciliation of the monarchs with the rebels in Isocrates, Evagoras, p. 63: Οὕτως ἐνέπλησεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ πολεμεῖν ὥστ' εἰθισμένων τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον τῶν βασιλέων μὴ διαλλάττεσθαι τοῖς ἀποστᾶσι πρὶν κύριοι γένοιντο τῶν σωμάτων, ἄσμενοι τῆν εἰρήνην ἐποίησαντο. That καταλλάσσεισθαι is at least sometimes equivalent to διαλλάσσεισθαι, is observed by the Scholiast upon Thucydides, iv. c. 59. This Tittman quotes, but seeks to evade the inference from it, by urging that here Thucydides says, καταλλαγῆναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. That, however, is a far-fetched way of adjusting the matter, as the following 61st chapter of the same

book shows, where, without the supplement of *πρὸς ἀλλήλους*, we read: *ἂ χρὴ γόνοντας καὶ ἰδιώτην ἰδιώτη καταλλάγηται, καὶ πόλιν πόλει*. First of all, Tittman passes over the N. T. text, 1 Cor. vii. 11, where *καταλλάσσεσθαι* is used of reconciliation among men, and where every probability leads us to suppose that the man with whom the woman is called upon to be reconciled, cherishes likewise hostility on his part. As to the classics, the two examples cited from Thucydides may suffice, to which we still add one from Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, i. c. 9: *Διὸ τὸ δίκαιον καλὸν καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον, καὶ μὴ καταλλάττεσθαι· τό τε γὰρ ἀνταποδιδόναι δίκαιον.*^a Another definition of the two synonyms, and which Tittman strangely passes unnoticed, is given by the Scholiast on Thucydides l. i. c. 120. ed. Bip. v. p. 356, where upon the word *ἐνηλλάγησαν* he remarks: *Ἐναντίον δὲ ἐστὶ τῶ διηλλάγησαν· ἀναλλάγηται γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ παρακληθῆναι, καὶ φιλιωθῆναι αὐτῶ· ἐναλλάγηται δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ φιλίας εἰς φιλίαν ἄλλου μεταπηδῆσαι τινος, ἐχθροῦ ὄντος τῶ πρώτῳ φίλῳ*. Now this determination of the sense of *διαλλάγηται* stands in direct contradiction to our passage in Matthew, for it expressly requires that the *φιλιῶν* should emanate from him who is invited to the *διαλλάγή*. It has, however, no other foundation in the classical *usus loquendi*, as the Helena of Euripides, to pass over other instances, indisputably

^a Compare also the identical use of the adjective *ἀδιάλλακτος* and *ἀκατάλλακτος* in the citations from the classics made by Heinsterhusius ad Thomam Mag. ed. Bernardi, p. 236.

shews, where at ver. 1231, Helena calls upon Theoclymenos to make friendship with her, and forget the past. Theoclymenos asks, On what terms? *χάρις γὰρ ἀντὶ χάριτος ἐλθέτω*; and then Helena, taking the first step in the reconciliation, says: *σπονδὰς τέμνωμεν, καὶ διαλλάχθητί μοι*. Upon which he replies: "I dismiss my wrath against thee; Let it vanish in the air." Compare Dionysius Halic. Antiquit. Roman. l. v. c. 51: *ἴσα μὲν ἐχαρίσασθε καὶ συνεχωρήσατε τῷ δήμῳ, τὴν ἔχθραν διαλλαττόμενοι*. Just as little, which Stephanus, even in his time, observed, are we able to demonstrate a third synonymical meaning in the *usus loquendi*, according to which *διαλλάσσεσθαι* always presupposes the intervention of a *διαλαπτής*. We are hence obliged to suppose that it is as impossible to point out, in the *usus loquendi*, a distinction between *διαλλάσσεσθαι* and *καταλλάσσεσθαι*, as between these two compounds and *συναλλάσσεσθαι* and *ἀποκαταλλάσσεσθαι*, or in German between *sich aussöhnen* and *sich versöhnen*. The instances which we have cited further shew the groundlessness of the opinion expressed by Cocceius, in the preface to his edition of the tract Sanhedrin and Maccoth (Amsterd. 1629), viz. that *διαλλάσσεισθαι τινι* was never used by the Greeks in the sense of *in gratiam cum aliquo redire*. He was consequently obliged to have recourse, for the explanation of it, to the dialect of the Rabbins, in which he was followed by Olearius, but found himself opposed chiefly, and with great erudition, by Georgi in his Hierocriticon, p. 225. Now, as to the question, whether, in this passage, the hatred is to be conceived as existing on both

sides, or only upon the one, it must, according to what we have said, be determined solely from the context. Ἀλλάσσω means *to change*, and consequently ἀλλάσσεσθαι *to change one's self*. Conjoined with the mere dative of direction, or with the preposition πρὸς, it implies *to change one's self with reference to some other*,^a hence to *incline towards him*; wherein, however, it remains undetermined, whether, on his part, the other also feels hatred or not. It follows that the admonitory διαλλάγηθι proves in a direct manner, no more than that the person addressed is incensed, and under obligation to take *the first step* towards reconciliation with his brother, precisely as at 1 Cor. vii. 11.^b Just, however, as in that case, so here also it may be presupposed, that the other party is not without embittered feelings.

3. With respect to the πρῶτον, the question is, whether, with Erasmus, Luther and Castellio, we

^a So διαγωνίζεσθαι τινι and πρὸς τινα, and so also εὔχεσθαι, ψεύδεσθαι. A conversion of the construction of καταλλάσσεσθαι with πρὸς into that with the simple dative, through commutation of syntax, appears to exist in Plato de Rep. viii. 566, E, on which see Stallbaum.

^b The appeal, 2 Cor. v. 19, presupposes that God has already taken the first step, and that man is bound to come to meet him. When, on the other hand, in the usus loquendi of the church, it was said καταλλάσσεσθαι τοῖς θυσιαστηρίοις, τῷ Θεῷ, τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, the expression is synonymous with δεκτὸν γενέσθαι τῷ Θεῷ, and penitence on the side of man was already presumed. See Suicer and Du Cange, Gloss. Græc. Med. ævi s. h. v., and the Latin *reconciliari*, Du Cange, Gloss. Latin. Med. ævi s. h. v. So likewise in the text, 2 Macc. i. 5; vii. 33; viii. 29, in which last, for example, it is said: τὸν ἐλεήμονα κύριον ἡζίουν καταλλαγήναι τοῖς αὐτοῦ θούλοις.

should join it with ὑπαγε, or rather with Beza, Erasm. Schmidt and De Wette with διαλλάγηθι. Upon the position of adverbs, the law is, that they may as well precede as follow the verb.^a Gersdorf, however, has wished to discover in the New Testament authors, defined idiosyncrasies, as to the place which they assign to them. He lays down as a rule,^b that Matthew always puts the adverb after imperatives, but in the case of the other moods, usually makes it precede the verb; in which Bornemann^c concurs with him. Now, if that assertion were incontestably correct, it would decide the question before us. But it holds true of this, as of many other rules which Gersdorf lays down. He either explains from the mere idiosyncrasy of the writer, phenomena which

^a According to grammarians, the original place of the adverb, as well as of the adjective, in Greek, is *before* its verb or substantive: τὸ δέον ἢ πρόταξις. To place it after, Apollonius regards as a hyperbaton, De Adv. p. 535, (Beckers Anecd. ii.) and infers that the front of the word is its original place, from the name it bears, τὸ ἐπιθετικόν, τὸ ἐπιρρήμα. And doubtless the anteposition of the adverb, but especially of the adjective, wherever these parts of speech constitute with the verb or substantive a closely connected idea, is the most natural; just as the article, for the same reason, is *prefixed*, and adjectives with the article can be *only prefixed* to it, e. g. ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ. When, however, they are placed after the substantive, they require to be more closely annexed to it again by a repetition of the article, e. g. ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός. The connection of the adverb with the verb is, by its very nature, looser, and hence it may be more readily placed after, as is regularly done by many. See Krüger on Dion. Hal. de Thucyd. p. 127, comp. 299.

^b Beiträge zur Sprachcharacteristic des N. T. p. 107, 475.

^c Scholia in Ev. Lucæ on c. xii. l. s. 80.

have their foundation in the determinate laws of speech and thought, or in cases where idiosyncrasies actually seem to exist, establishes, as an immutable rule, what is only prevailing custom. It is really true, judging from the examples before us, that Matthew *usually* does place the adverb after the imperative, but Gersdorf himself produces several instances which appear to be exceptions. The observation is hence by no means established. Still, however, even if it were certain, that in all passages, without exception, Matthew had placed the adverb after the imperative, may not, in the present case, mere accident obtain? Considering that the same Evangelist, in other tenses, puts it before. We would not, therefore, build much upon the observation, but prefer connecting *πρῶτον* with *διαλλάγηθι*, because this is the leading idea, and because the *τότε* then forms a striking contrast with the *πρῶτον*.

V. 25, 26. In the apprehension they form of this saying, expositors separate into two classes. The first regards it as a prudential maxim, wherein Christ means to deter from implacability, by instancing the evil consequences which attend it in common life. The second acknowledges, that in respect of their primary signification, the words apply to the connection in which a man stands to human justice, in like manner as the punishments mentioned at ver. 22, but supposes that just as there, so here also the relation to the Divine judgment is implied under these forms. With this class, which, of course, takes the words parabolically, we concur. Let us first bring before the mind's eye the primary and proper sense of

the saying, which coincides with the conception formed of it by the former class.

We have to suppose a law-suit of some minor kind, such as would be tried before one of the inferior courts, ἄντιδικος, always used in a juridical sense (Luke xviii. 3; 1 Pet. v. 8), is also in the classics, a terminus technicus applied to both litigants, of whom the one is ἀντιδικος to the other. See Reiske Index ad or. Gr. Like other law terms (comp. p. 157), this word naturalized itself in the language of the Rabbins, אַנטִי־דִיקוֹס; a natural consequence of the fact, that in the provinces, the administration of justice was carried on, not in the Latin, but in the Greek tongue, which Pilate, for instance, spoke. We find the plaintiff and defendant together upon the way. Expositors here point our attention to the usages in the Roman *vocatio ad jus*. First of all, an accommodation was attempted *inter parietes, inter disceptatores domesticos*. If the matter could not be settled in that manner, the *actor* proceeded to summon the *reus* before the prætor, and, in case of refusal, could force him. Hence *rapere in jus*. See Adam's Roman Antiquities. In the same way among the Greeks, the plaintiff brought his πρόκλησις or citation personally to the house of the defendant. Then followed the judicial ἀνάγκησις, at which both parties necessarily required to appear. In the present case, however, we must call to mind the *Jewish* law procedure, as even under the Romans, with the single exception of capital crimes, the Jews were allowed to administer justice for themselves. Now, the Hebrew jurisprudence ordained that no accusation could be listened to by a judge

except in the presence of the accused party,^a so that, even according to the usages of that nation, it may be explained, why in this case we find the plaintiff and defendant together upon the way.

Among the Jews, the administration of justice being, for the most part, in the hands of the Pharisees, was conducted with great gentleness, that sect regarding judicial clemency as a highly meritorious virtue.^b The forms were in general favourable to the accused ; although, on the other hand, partly the Sadducees were inclined to more severe principles of justice, and partly there were exceptions even among the Pharisees. The consequence was, that certain judges of that sect used, of themselves, to bring about a reconciliation, or urged the parties to try and accommodate the difference. There was likewise, however, a more rigid party, whose maxim was: “Who-soever effects an arbitration, sins;” because *judgment belongs to God*, *המשפט לאלהים*.^c With judges of such dispositions, accordingly, when once the accusation was lodged, every possibility of an after adjustment was done away.^d

^a Gemara des Tr. Sanhedrin ed. Cocc. c. 1. § 10. Hottinger Jus Hebr. p. 104.

^b Josephus. Antiqu. L. xiii. c. 10. Jost Geschichte der Juden, iii. s. 85.

^c See Gemara Sanhedrin, Ed. Cocc. c. i. sec. 2 and 3.

^d Chrysostom: *πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς εἰσόδου, σὺ κύριος εἶ τοῦ παντός· ἔαν δὲ ἐπιβῆς ἐκείνων τῶν προθύρων, οὐδὲ σφόδρα σπουδάζων δυνήσῃ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ὡς βούλει, διαθεῖναι.* Before you enter the court all is in your power, but when you have once passed the threshold, you will not be able, do what you can, to dispose of your own affairs.

Now, under these circumstances, Christ exhorts, even in consideration of the temporal danger, to study conciliation.^a Among the ecclesiastical fathers, Chrysostom and Jerome, and among the reformers, Zwingli,^b have construed the saying in this sense. Of moderns, Dr. Paulus has gone farthest in making it of temporal signification, and at the same time proportionally trivial. According to him, it is a maxim of prudence, for the use of Christians, more especially Jewish Christians, who should have the misfortune, in those days, when Romans and Jews still exercised

^a That the admonition to placability involves the term *ἐννοεῖν*, *bene velle*, *bene cupere*, appears surprising, and hence few translators have rendered it with perfect exactness. Erasmus, for example, has *habeto benevolentiam*, while, on the contrary, the Vulgate, the Syriac, Luther, Beza and most others, express more definitely that *placability* is required, *in gratiam redi*, *componere*. Beza has even allowed himself to be misled into the surmise that perhaps *συνοῶν* ought to be read; which, however, never has the sense *ὁμοιοεῖν*. It may be remarked, that *ἐννοεῖν*, *εὖνους*, *ἐννοϊκός*, have a signification similar to our *to stand well* or *be on good terms with any one*, (so also *εὐμενής*, *εὐμενικός*), and that they thus often rather negatively exclude the intimacy of friendship, than denote a very high degree of affection. Compare in Polybius *ἐννοϊκῶς διακεῖσθαι πρὸς τινα*, l. v. c. 50, *μεσιτεῦσαι τὴν διάλυσιν ἐννοϊκῶς*, b. ii. c. 34. When hostile powers made treaties of peace, they swore for the future, *ἀδόλωτος ἐννοήσειν τῷ ἄλλῳ*. See Elsner, ad h. l.

^b Zwingli: *Ut sunt res humanæ incertæ et inconstantes, sæpe fallunt judicia, ut, qui se bonam causam habere putat, contra illum pronuncietur. Avocat ergo et absterret suos Christus a litibus, a periculo scilicet argumentum sumens: sæpe qui jus optimum habet, causa cadit; sæpe vincit qui pœna est dignus.*

the judicial function, to be involved in a law-suit ; for, in that case, it might be presumed that they had scarcely to hope for an impartial judgment.

It is, however, impossible to stop short at the exclusive reference of the words to civil pains and risk, as has been acknowledged even by Socinus and Grotius. Provided only that we do not consider the saying isolated and apart from the connection in which it stands, but as we are more bound to do, place it in relation with the preceding context, it appears obvious, that after such serious motives as are proposed in vers. 21—24, we have not to anticipate one of so merely external a kind as imprisonment for life. Besides, whoever is persuaded that the saying in Luke xii. 58, is at all connected with the train of thought, even granting that that is to be traced no higher than to the Evangelist, must there necessarily look upon it as parabolical. Why then not do the same here, where it occurs in an incomparably more natural sequence? The most obvious method of all is to consider God parabolically represented as King or Judge ; inasmuch as all regal majesty and authority are but rays from his ; which also lies in the application of the parable, Luke xviii. 1. That Jesus appends no express interpretation of the parabolical expression, ought to excite no surprise. For, in the first place, he frequently spoke in similitudes which he did not till afterwards expound to his disciples, (Mark iv. 34). The interpretation, moreover, was omitted principally when brief sayings and admonitions were clothed in a parabolical form, and likewise when the interpretation was easily discoverable *per se* ; as e. g. Matt. ix.

16, 17, 37 ; xii. 43—45. But, of all cases, that in which it presents itself most obviously, is when the terms of the parable are the very same with those used for the thing signified ; which holds in the present, where God is pourtrayed as Judge, human debts as guilt, and the prison as the penalty ; These being the identical expressions which we employ in speaking simply of the subject itself. We have a similar example in Luke xii. 42—48, where Christ, with reference to the previous similitude of the Lord and the Servant, speaks of the behaviour of the latter towards his fellow-servants without any interpretation of the parabolical language he uses, seeing that, apart from such language, man is represented as servant of the supreme Lord, and, on that account, what he says is very easily intelligible. The parabolical sense which we have embraced, and which so directly strikes the eye, has been adopted by the far larger proportion of commentators, as Calvin, Chemnitz, Castellio, Bengel, Michaelis, Kuinöl, Gratz and Olshausen. On the other hand, in the church of antiquity, we encounter a multitude of various interpretations, whose inadmissibility, however, is sufficiently demonstrated by the very circumstance that they fit so badly into the context. To which it must likewise be added, that had the Saviour required these interpretations to be put upon his words, he must necessarily have appended an express explanation to that effect. The interpretation most widely spread was that which makes the *ἀντιδίκος* the devil, and which arose probably from his being called in 1 Pet. v. 8, *ὁ ἀντιδίκος ὑμῶν*. We find it in Clemens Alex. Strom. iv. p. 605, in Origen, Hom. 35. in

Luc., in Tertullian de Anima, in Ambrosius in Luc. xii. and other places. The way in which Clemens conceives it, when he thinks that the devil, in as far as he works against us through wicked men, is meant, is by far the most tolerable. Most of the rest understand the *benevolum esse Diabolo*, as follows: The punishment to which the Devil is subjected will be severe in proportion as he succeeds in betraying us into evil; whosoever, therefore, resists temptation is kind to the devil. Others noticed by Hilary, suppose the *ἀντίδικος* to be the *πνεῦμα* with which the *σάβζ* ought to enter into amity, in order to avoid being devoted to punishment; in which they probably proceeded upon Rom. vii. 22, 23. Others again, with whom Clemens enters the lists, conceived, in the very opposite way, that the *ἀντίδικος* meant the *σάβζ*. So Isidorus Pelusiota, l. 1. Ep. 80. Augustine suffered himself to be drawn aside from the right meaning, by the scruple that no human adversary could deliver us up to the divine judgment, inasmuch as he shall himself be judged by God: To which scruple Hilary, even in his day, gave the proper answer.^a Augustine, accordingly, proposes to understand God under the *ἀντίδικος*: *Resistit enim peccatoribus, et quibus resistit, recte dicitur eorum*

^a Hilary: *Adversario tradente nos judici, quia manens in eum simultatis nostræ ira nos arguit. Cocceius: Sunt qui possunt suspirare adversum nos aut etiam desiderare nostram charitatem, qui, si non fiant nostri patroni et benedicant nobis (Luke xvi. 9; Job xxxi. 20,) erunt accusatores nostri Deo illorum causam suscipiente (Matt. xxv. 45).*

adversarius, or even the Lex Dei.^a With this the explanation of Euthymius is virtually identical, who regards *conscience* as the adversary. More deeply conceived, our interpretation likewise coincides with it, because the adversary, whom we have aggrieved, delivers us up to the divine judgment only *in virtue of the divine law*.

Hitherto we have stated the significance of parabolical discourse only in general; let us now consider its particular elements. And here we encounter the ancient controversy, viz. in how far the particular parts of Christ's parables are significant. From the time of Chrysostom, it has been handed down as a rule, that not every thing in them is to be considered as intended to apply, but, on the contrary, that much is introduced, not for the sake of the *παρεπίδοσις* (*i. e.* the thing meant,) but for the sake of the *παράθεσις*, *i. e.* in order to give the significant sides of the parable more of the character of an actual history. The truth of this rule must undoubtedly be acknowledged. Parables portray exalted truths in events of every-day life. Hence, to confer upon them the aspect of every-day life, the narrator cannot avoid individualizing, and thereby commingling many a trait, of which, for the design he had in view, there was no proper use. Thus, for example, in the parable of the lost piece of silver, the object of the Saviour is to describe the faithful solicitude

^a The latter explanation he carries through in Sermo. 231, vol. v. 722. So likewise has Olshausen, at Luke xii. 58, supposed the *ἀντίδικος* to mean the Divine Law.

with which God follows after man in his lost state through sin. Now, in selecting from common life an example in which a careful search appears, he is obliged to fix just upon a *housewife* who seeks something she has lost—to notice *the lighting of a candle*—to condescend upon a coin precisely such as a *drachm*; neither a larger one, for that is not so readily lost in housekeeping, nor a smaller, like the *quadrans*, for after it one would not so earnestly seek, and so on. He does all this, because it is just with these individual traits that a careful search, when it takes place among men, is found connected. On the other hand, however, it must be allowed that a similitude is perfect in proportion as it is, on all sides, rich in applications; and hence, in treating the parables of Christ, the expositor must proceed upon the presumption that there is import in every single point, and only desist from seeking it, when either it does not result without forcing, or when we can clearly shew that this or that circumstance was merely added for the sake of giving intuitiveness to the narrative.

According to these principles for the interpretation of Christ's parables, we here also proceed. The offender is represented as in company with his ἀντίδικος, on the way to the judge; The way, the image of *the way of life*, which in the Old Testament is styled "the way of all the earth," "the way whence there is no return," 1 Kings ii. 2; Job xvi. 22. Nor is the officer, who here executes the judge's sentence, to be regarded as a mere unmeaning individualization. In the parable of the tares, where our Saviour gives the interpretation, he expressly de-

clares the reapers to be the angels, (Mat. xiii. 39,) and where he speaks of the judgment, he again mentions the angels as the servants of God, (Mat. xiii. 49; xxiv. 31; compare 1 Thess. iv. 16.) The most important trait, however, of the parable still remains, viz. the *Prison*, and the payment of the *last farthing*. That the prison denotes a place or state of punishment beyond the grave, is obvious. The question, however, arises, whether it means the place or state of eternal torment, or that of transitory purification. The latter is the view of Catholic expositors, whose lead Olshausen here follows. According to his interpretation, *Φυλακή* is the Scheol or Hades. He treats the word with reference to 1 Pet. iii. 19, as being the direct terminus technicus for *an intermediate state after death*. Now, if it had been the terminus technicus for that, we should certainly be justified in supposing that the Saviour had, in this place, purposely selected the word. It is very much to be doubted, however, that *φυλακή* signified nothing else but the intermediate state—or, as Roman Catholics conceive it, Purgatory. Our lexicographers, it is true, guided by the two passages, 1 Pet. iii. 19, and Rev. xx. 7, assign it the meaning *Tartarus*. Undoubtedly, in the latter text, as appears from the 3d verse of the same chapter, it designates the *ἄβυσσος*; it does so, however, according to all probability, only inasmuch as the *ἄβυσσος* served in this instance as a prison. The very same may be true of 1 Pet. iii. 19, particularly as there the *φυλακή* has no article. In the apochrypha the word nowhere occurs; not even in the passage *Acta Thomæ*, sec. 10, which

Bretschneider cites.^a Although, however, it cannot be demonstrated that ἡ φυλακή was in circulation as terminus technicus for Hades, still we can as little deny that, according to the ordinary views entertained of it, that place might well have borne even directly the name ἡ φυλακή. The delineation of it with gates, and locks and bars, &c., is sufficiently well known from the gospel of Nicodemus.^b The νεκροί there are even called δεδεμένοι, chap. 21. In the New Testament likewise, besides the text, 1 Pet. iii. 19, it is also said in 2 Pet. ii. 4 and 9, that the angels that sinned and the unjust are reserved (τηρεῖσθαι) unto the day of judgment. Among the Greek fathers, also, Hades is mentioned as the δοχεῖον τῶν ψυχῶν. But notwithstanding, and even allowing φυλακή to be a terminus technicus, we should nowise be entitled to assert apodictically with Olshausen, that “the φυλακή never signifies the place of eternal punishment.” For that it may no less designate that place, follows from the mere circumstance, that the γέεννα is likewise located in the Hades, and should any choose to place it somewhere else, still he must concede, that to be bound and cast into prison, may just as well be a figure for *never-ending* as for *transitory* punishment. The Catholics, indeed, have insisted—and Olshausen will, perhaps, do the same—that a *custodia* signifies merely

^a In c. 45, of the Acta Thomæ, it is certainly said of Christ: ὁ δὲ ἡμᾶς κρινόμενος, καὶ φυλακισόμενος ἐν δισμῶττηρι. Still, however, it is doubtful whether there under δισμῶττηριον we are to understand the body, or Hades.

^b Ed. Thilo. p. 715, Anmerk.

a keeping secure until a fixed term. But, supposing the word to be thus urged, we too shall then lay down the juridical maxim : Carcer non est in pœnam, sed in custodiam peccati, and thence deduce the inference, that inasmuch as this middle state is in no-wise punitive, it is also impossible that any debts can be there *paid off*. It is much more correct to say, that *binding and imprisonment* are a perfectly general figure for *a state of constraint and uneasiness*. Thus also in the New Testament, the Epistle of Jude, ver. 6, says that the fallen angels are reserved unto the future judgment of the great day, and yet their chains are called δεσμοὶ αἰδίοι. At Mat. xxii. 13, mention is likewise made in a parable of a binding, upon which the casting into darkness immediately follows. So does Josephus say,^a that according to the doctrine of the Pharisees, the souls of the wicked pass into an εἰργμὸς αἰδίου, and Chrysostom^b call the pains of hell: τιμωρίας ἀθανάτους, τὸ πῦρ το ἄσβεστον, τὰ δεσμὰ τὰ ἄλυτα. Looking, therefore, exclusively to the word φυλακή, it may serve equally to designate a place or state of temporary, and one of eternal punishment. Hence the argument of the Catholic Apologists is with much more justice founded upon the words ἕως ἂν ἀποδῶς κτλ. “Is it not—Bellarmine first asked—quite obvious, that here a term is fixed to the paying of the debt, at the arrival of which the punishment also ceases?” Augustine, on the support of Ps. cx. 1, and Matt. i. 25. ventured to assert that *donec*

^a Antiqu. xviii. 1, 3.

^b Homil. v. ad Antioch.

likewise denotes the *terminus post quem*. Bellarmine replies, "When it is said: *Non cognoscebat eam, donec pareret*, there follows nothing but that she would at some future time bring forth a child; nor from the words: *Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam*, can anything more be inferred than that God would one day actually lay the Lord's enemies at his feet. So that, in the present case also, the conclusion remains firm, that the time will come when the payment shall be terminated." Against this reasoning, the Lutheran theologians Chemnitz^a and Gerhard^b defend themselves, as Augustine had done, by maintaining that *donec* also includes in its meaning the *terminus post quem*. Buchner, in his Concordance, shews this in the most decisive way, by 1 Sam. xv. 35, and 2 Sam. vi. 23: "Michal had no child *until the day of her death*," and therefore, beyond all doubt *never*, seeing that *after death there is no more child-bearing*. But here, from the assignment of the term, the converse of the proposition will, in like manner, result, viz. that "*whoever actually pays the uttermost farthing, shall come out of the prison*." The expositors of the reformed church, such as Beza and Spanheim, with whom, from among the Lutherans, Glassius sided,^c took a more natural way to set aside the plea of the defenders of Purgatory. They simply asked, on what grounds it was presumed, that the debtor will be in circumstances to pay his debts? Just as in French, *Payer*

^a Examen Conc. Trid. iii. 568.

^b Loci Theol. T. xvii. 316.

^c Phil. Sacra, p. 964.

jusqu'au dernier denier, in Latin, *Ad numum solvere, Ad extremum assem solvere, In assem vendere*,^a and in German, *Bis zum letzten heller bezahlen*, so here, they asserted, the expression is a proverbial one,^b signifying the *summus rigor legis*, and on that very account, implies the impossibility of paying. Other proverbs, turning upon the same coin, the Quadrans or Teruncius, and current among the Romans, were *Crcesi pecuniæ teruncium addere, Ne teruncium quidem insumsit*. Now, some may perhaps object, that in the mouth of the Son of God, every word must be taken in its most proper sense, and according to its primary import. It ought, however, to be remembered, on the other hand, that the speech of the Son of Man is still human, and such as was used in his native country. Is there any one who, upon Christ's prophecy, that at the destruction of Jerusalem there would not remain *λίθος ἐπὶ λίθῳ* (Luke xix. 44,) would build the assertion, that after that event, never were two stones found, the one upon the other? Compare what is said of the hyperboles of the New Testament, at ver. 29th.

That the phrase *ἕως ἂν ἀποδῶς κτλ.* actually presupposes inability to pay on the part of the debtor, is besides raised above all doubt by the parable in chap. xviii. where, at ver. 34, the unforgiving party is in like manner thrown into prison till he should

^a Cicero ad Atticum, l. v. Ep. 21, Horace Ep. ii. 2.

^b On the proverbial character of the expression in our text, T. Gronovius speaks very justly, in his excellent work, *de Sestertiis*, l. 4, p. 336.

pay all that was due, whereas from verse 25th, it follows, that he had not wherewithal to pay. Whoever, therefore, cannot be content with viewing the saying more indefinitely, and as a loose proverbial designation of the *summus rigor legis*, will find himself obliged to suppose, along with the protestants, that the passage implies everlasting damnation. Moreover, in all such specifications of punishment, as is likewise the case at ver. 22d, it must be remembered, that they have respect to the relation of God to sin, *per se*, and apart altogether from the efficacy of redemption. Theophylact too explains the saying as referring to eternal damnation, in his Commentary on Luke xii.: εἰ γὰρ ἄχρι τότε εἰς φυλακὴν ἐσόμεθα ἄχρις ἂν τὸ ἔσχατον λεπτὸν ἀποδώμεν, οὐδέποτε δὲ μέλλομεν ἀποδοῦναι, πρὸδηλον ὡς αἰῶνιος ἡ κόλασις ἔσται. This very explanation is also to be found in a great number of Catholic authors, in the Glossa Interlinearis, in Bede, Ferus, Jansenius: Compare upon it Gerhard and Spanheim's Dubium 144.

V. 27 and 28. The Saviour here makes a transition to the commandments which respect the conjugal relation. Following the order of the Decalogue, after that which, according to the enumeration of the reformed church is the 6th, and regards Murder, he mentions the 7th, whose subject is Adultery. In the former case, he first gave the deeper exposition of the commandment, and then, in ver. 23—26, annexed certain admonitions. He does the same here in verses 29 and 30; but, over and above that, he appends, in verses 31 and 32, a second πλήρωσις

of the law respecting adultery. For, conceived in its utmost latitude, it embraces every dissolution of the conjugal bond, except where that has been already practically broken by adultery.^a

First, then, our Saviour states a similar πλήρωσις of the commandment prohibiting μοιχεία, as he had done of that prohibiting the φόνος, viz. "The transgression commences sooner than you imagine, even with the inward propensity."

We must set out, in the exposition, with the words πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι, as the conception which we form of them, determines that of the whole proposition. In the Greek *usus loquendi*, ἐπιθυμεῖν γυναικός has the distinct sense, *amore sive honesto sive turpi exardere*. Ἐπιθυμία, as is well known, signifies in particular the *cupiditas veneris*, and is hence even a decent designation for the membra pudenda, Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vii. 6, 63. ed. Born. Take the verb for instance in the following passages, Plut. *Terrestriane an Aquitilia*, &c. c. 18: τὸν δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παιδεραστοῦντα χῆνα καὶ τὸν ἐπιθυμήσαντα Γλαύκης τῆς κιθαρῳδοῦ κριόν..... ἀφήμι. Artemidorus, *Oneirocrit.* i. c. 76: ἐρωτικῶς διακείμενός τις καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν τῆς γυναικός. Xenophon *Conviv.* c. iv. § 63, 64: "Ἐναγχος δὲ δήπου καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐπαινῶν τὸν Ἡρακλεώτην ξένον, ἐπεὶ με ἐποίησας ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτοῦ, συνέστησάς μοι αὐτόν,——Ὁ γὰρ οἶος τὲ ὦν γιγνώσκειν τε τοὺς ὠφελίμους αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτους δυνάμενος

^a Few interpreters have seized the connection of ver. 27—32, which, however is so undeniable, and of which the right apprehension throws so much light upon what is said about divorce.

ποιεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀλλήλων. Precisely similar is the Latin *cupere*.^a Now, the question arises, in what sense we are here to understand πρὸς. Expositors, both of ancient and modern times, have disagreed as to whether it denotes the *eventus*, and so is equivalent to ὡστε, which by far the greatest number have supposed: or whether the idea of *purpose*, with which that of the *motive* is closely allied, ought to be maintained, and the word translated *with the design of, in order to*.^b Now, it is certainly supposable, that just as the cognate εἰς τὸ, when prefixed to the infinitive, serves to denote the *eventus*, no less than the *intention*, the same may be the case with πρὸς. Indeed such frequently is the case when it goes before substantives; Compare, for example, ἀσθενεία, ἀμαρτία πρὸς θάνατον, John xi. 4; 1 John v. 16. In the Aramæic tongue also, Jesus might have expressed himself so as that the sense was ambiguous. It is true that he could have quite distinctly intimated the purpose, by using מְשׁוּם ד or בגלל ד; But he may also have used the כְּדִי, or the simple ל, which unites the meanings, both of *eo ut*, and

^a The Munster Hebrew translation of the New Testament, and likewise the two London ones, which are of a later date, have rendered the ἐπιθυμειν here by התאוה. The Rabbinical שׁוֹקֵק whence תְּשׁוּקָה, Gen. iii. 16, would be more apposite.

^b The far larger majority make it equivalent to ὡστε. See Glassius among those of a remoter date, Philolog. Sacra, p. 1056, and even the acute Bengel observes: Particula *ad determinat rationem intuitus*. So also among moderns, Kuinöl, Paulus and Henneberg.

of *ita ut*. In the New Testament texts, however, in which the sense of *ita ut* is supposed to belong to $\pi\rho\acute{\sigma}$ prefixed to an infinitive, that of *eo ut* is, without any scruple, to be preferred, as at Mark xiii. 22. Neither in the LXX—who render the very word עַד by $\pi\rho\acute{\sigma}$, Jer. xxvii. 10; xxxii. 29, 35—nor yet in the New Testament, have I discovered a single passage in which $\pi\rho\acute{\sigma}$, with the infinitive, has lost the idea of *the intention*, and passed into a mere $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$. In Matthew himself, compare chap. vi. 1; xiii. 30; xxiii. 5; xxvi. 12. Now, seeing that this evangelist is acquainted with the use of $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$, and employs it elsewhere, why, it may be asked, has he not done so here? Why not, at least, have put $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}$? In these circumstances, we must regard it as decided, that what $\pi\rho\acute{\sigma}$ marks is the inward object at which the gazer aims. Some, indeed, may be surprised at Christ here representing the $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ as the scope situated out of a man's own mind, with a view to which the looks in question are taken; and may hence deem it better to regard $\pi\rho\acute{\sigma}$ in the sense of *because*, as designation of the *inward* motive, *Quoniam* concupiscit eam. This, however, would be wrong, inasmuch as the preposition, when governing the accusative, denotes always the aim, and must be resolved into that idea. It then amounts to as much $\epsilon\pi\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega\nu\ \pi\rho\acute{\sigma}\ \tau\iota$; Compare Matt. xix. 8. Were it here intended to mark the inward cause, $\pi\rho\acute{\sigma}$ would require to govern the genitive; as the Greeks say, $\pi\rho\acute{\sigma}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \zeta\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\theta\alpha\iota$, i. e. *hitherward*, Herm. zu Viger, s. 862. If Christ had said, $\pi\rho\acute{\sigma}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\eta\sigma\alpha\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\nu$, the emphasis which now lies upon the $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$, would

be transferred wholly to the ἐπιθυμῆσαι. The thought, under the present form, is not *essentially* different from what it would be under the other, for he who looks for the purpose of exciting desire, must *already* have felt desire as the *causa impellens*. Under the present form, however, the sin is aggravated, for then the thing spoken of is lust seeking to foment itself; besides which, the impure *look* comes forward in stronger contrast to the outward and specific act of adultery. It is not so much the ἐπιθυμία, *per se*, which forms the antithesis to the ἐπίμιξις, but the βλέπειν μετ' ἐπιθυμίας which, through the stages of αἰσχρολογία and the ἄψις ἀναίσχοντος, rises to the perpetration of the ἐπίμιξις.

Although, however, we do not consider πρὸς as equivalent to ὄσσει, still, considering the prevalence of that opinion, we must inquire how, upon its adoption, we should have to understand the passage. The sense would then be, "Whosoever looketh on a woman, so as that impure desire is *peradventure* excited within him." Upon this view being taken, it was felt necessary to annex some restrictive conditions, as it could not be supposed that the Saviour meant so sternly to reprehend every incidental movement of desire. Thus the author of the Opus Imperf. speaks of a duplex voluntas hominis, altera carnis, altera animæ, from the latter of which emanates the συγκατάθεσις; and it is this anima which is here, he says, addressed. Jerome, treating sin according to the stoical phraseology, as a νόσημα, distinguishes in his commentary upon the text, as well as in other passages of his writings, between the προπάθεια and

the *πάθος* : Propassio licet initii culpam habeat, tamen non tenetur in crimine ; ergo qui viderit mulierem et anima ejus fuerit titillata hic propassione percussus est : Si vero consenserit et de cogitatione affectum fuerit—de *propassione* transivit ad *passionem*, et huic non *voluntas* peccandi deest, sed *occasio*. In like manner, the author of the Responsiones ad Orthodox. maintains, that ere the *ἐπιθυμία* becomes sinful, the *συγκατάθεσις* must be superadded. Entertaining the very same view, the Romish church declares in the council of Trent, Sessio v. c. 5 : Manere in baptizatis concupiscentiam vel fomitem, hæc Sancta Synodus fatetur, quæ cum ad agonem relicta sit, nocere non consentientibus sed viriliter per Christi gratiam repugnantibus non valet, quinimo, qui legitime certaverit, coronabitur. Hanc concupiscentiam, quam aliquando Apostolus peccatum appellat, sancta Synodus declarat, Ecclesiam Catholicam nunquam intellexisse peccatum actuale, quod vere et proprie in renatis peccatum sit ; sed quia *ex* peccato est et *ad* peccatum inclinat. The opinion of the Socinians is consonant with this ; see Volkel, De vera Religione, iv. 17. Different, however, is that of the Protestant church, which considers the concupiscentia in believers as a peccatum *veniale*, it is true, but still as a sin, rendering the subject obnoxious to punishment, and odious in God's eyes. Luther speaks upon the present saying, not certainly with great doctrinal precision, but still with practical depth and naiveté : “ We must not here draw the lace too tight, nor suppose that when a man is assaulted by temptation, and feels the kindling of lust and desire within him, he must, on

that account, be damned. For I have often said, that it is not possible to live in this flesh, without sinful and perverse inclinations, both contrary to the commandment now under review, as well as to all the rest. Accordingly, the doctors have laid down a distinction, with which I also am content to leave the matter, and that is, that an impure thought, if unaccompanied by the acquiescence of the will, is not a mortal sin. It cannot but happen, that when you have received a wrong, your heart will feel it, and be moved, and begin to boil with desires of revenge. That, however, is not damnable, provided it do not determine and propose to retaliate evil, but resists all such inclinations. Such is precisely the case here. We are not able to prevent the devil from shooting the arrows of evil thoughts and desires into our hearts. But look you well to it that these are not suffered to stick and grow, but that you cast them from you and act according to the precept of a father in days of old: *I cannot hinder the bird from flying over my head, but I can easily prevent it making its nest in my hair, or pecking off my nose.* Thus we have no power to guard against this or that temptation, and prevent thoughts from suggesting themselves: Let us be sure, however, that they are not permitted to go beyond the mere suggestion, and that we do not open the door to them although they knock, but guard against allowing them to take root, and ripen to a purpose or consent. Notwithstanding, however, it is still *sin*, but comprehended in the general pardon." Well also does the excellent Chemnitz speak upon the subject: *Gradus esse differentes in peccatis*

non est dubium ; sicut veteres non inutili illa distinctione suggestionis, dilectationis, consensus, imaginationis et operis ostenderunt. Sed Christus ut ostendat perfectam impletionem legis nobis in hac naturæ corruptione impossibilem esse, asseverat hoc loco : ipsam cordis concupiscentiam per se esse peccatum et quidem ita, ut sola cordis concupiscentia homo reus fiat fornicationis coram Deo.—Christus ostendit reatum concupiscentiæ in iudicio Dei eundem esse, qui est adulterii, quod scilicet maledictioni Dei obnoxios reddit, licet pro differentia peccatorum in ipsa etiam maledictione gradus sint. Sicut igitur Joannes dicit, *Qui odit fratrem, homicida est*, ita Christus hoc loco, *Qui concupiscit mulierem, adulter est*. Now, supposing it granted that *πρός* has precisely the same power as *ὡστε*, we should necessarily acquiesce in this Protestant view. For, in the first place, the supposition that the *ἐπιθυμία* is only meant when in conjunction with the *συγκατάθεσις*, is a pure assumption : Moreover, it might, be easily deduced from ver. 29 and 30, that previously the *ἐπιθυμία* in general was spoken of : In fine, which is the chief point, it cannot be denied, that according to Scripture the *ἐπιθυμία* is *per se* regarded as sin. When the Romish church pretends, that in such passages as Rom. vi. 19 ; vii. 7 and 14, and viii. 2, the concupiscentia is denominated *ἀμαρτία*, *ἀνομία*, merely *per met. consequentis pro antecedente*, there is no more truth in the assertion than in the case of most similar metonomies : And when, moreover, according to 1 John iii. 4, the idea of *ἀμαρτία* is expressed by *ἀνομία*, it is a necessary consequence, that *whatever is contrary to the Divine will,*

necessarily belongs to the domain of sin. Nor would it be easy to find a pious Christian who, in prayer to God, felt no emotion of shame for his sinful desires. But we do not *blush* for that which is absolutely *innocent*. Cf. Gerhard's *Loc. Theol.* Tom. v. p. 17.

According to our manner of understanding the words, however, we do not require to enter further into this investigation. Because if *πρός* denotes the purpose, then the thing spoken of is not an involuntary *ἐξυπνίζεσθαι* of desire, but posterior to the excitement of the *πάθος*, an intentional *κινεῖν καὶ διαγραινέειν* of it. The *βλέπειν* is not here a fortuitous glance to which the *ut vidi ut perii* of the ancients might apply, but an *ἀτενίζεσθαι ὀξύτερον*,^a as a reading, which derives its origin from a gloss, viz. *ὁ ἐμβλέπων* or *ἐμβλέψας* expresses it, and is to be regarded as the first grade in the line of the outward act, upon whose last lies adultery itself. It is a *βλέπειν* on the principle: *Casso saltem delectamine amare liceat, si potiri non licet*. The Greeks, to denote this, have the peculiar terms *ἐποφθαλμιᾶν, κακῶς ἰδεῖν, κακόσυχολως ἰδεῖν, περιέργως ἰδεῖν*. In the LXX, we read in the History of Joseph, Gen. xxxix. 7: *Ἐπέβαλεν ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῆς ἐπὶ Ἰωσήφ*. Compare the often used Rabbinical formula

^a *Βλέπειν* is so distinguished from its synonymes, as to come nearest the German *Blicken*, and the English *look* (*Döderlein's Lateinische Synonymie*, iv. 317), and this primary sense is here also the fundamental one, viz., *to fix the looks upon a woman*. So 1 Cor. i. 26; x. 18: *Βλέπετε τὴν κλήσιν ὑμῶν*, "Cast a look upon your calling." Comp. Tittman *De Synon.* N. T. p. iii.

עוֹנִים, pascere oculos, and the following biblical texts, Job xxxi. 1 ; Ezek. vi. 9 ; xxiii. 16 ; Prov. xxiii. 33 ; Ecclesiasticus ix. 5, 8 ; 2 Pet. ii. 14.^a This deliberate fomentation of lust, is likewise held, both by Chrysostom and Augustine, to be expressed in the passage. The first broaches the question, Why, in like manner, as in the case of the ὀργή, is not the εἰκῆ here annexed, seeing the ἐπιθυμία is no more sinful, in all cases, than that is, but rather is allowed in marriage, and subserves the ends of God, "Ἰνα τὸ γένος ἡμῶν συγκρατῆται ταῖς τοιαύταις διαδοχαῖς?" And he answers it well by saying, that what is here spoken of is a συλλέγων ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, consequently such an ἐπιθυμία, as beyond a doubt does what is wrong.^b Augustine again, quite distinctly, expresses the *design* in the words: Qui hoc fine et hoc animo attenderit, ut eam concupiscat.

There is still another objection raised, viz. that it cannot be supposed those pharisaical lawyers, whom our Saviour throughout confronts with his πλήρωσις of the Mosaic law, could have been ignorant that the ἐπιθυμία, simply *per se*, renders the subject guilty, inasmuch as the tenth commandment, "Thou shalt not covet," declares, in the plainest terms, that even desire is impure. Notwithstanding, however, that our theologians, in like manner as Luther, observe

^a Pricæus, Grotius and Wetstein have amassed a multitude of passages in which the sentiment, Sunt oculi in amore duces is expressed. The Jerusalem Talmud also furnishes an apposite passage, Berach c. 1. f. 3: "The eye and heart are the two negotiators of love."

^b Euthymius: ἡὐτομόλῃσει πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν.

upon this precept of the law, "What he chiefly aims at is to have the heart pure;" still, according to the acknowledgment of Luther himself, it was pointed primarily against Envy; in which sense it is very admirably expounded by the Jewish commentators, for instance, Aben Ezra. Besides, how much do we find standing clearly enough expressed in the Bible, which yet the Pharisees and Scribes, both of ancient and modern days, seem not to read in it! There are, in every age, persons who have eyes but do not see (Matt. xiii. 14). In the Talmud, both opinions are to be found side by side, viz. that lust is sin, and that it is not. We read at one place, Tr. Kidduschin. f. 40. 1. **מחשבה רעה אין הקבה מצרפה למעשה** "The evil thought God does not reckon as a deed," and at another, Tr. Joma, f. 29, 1. **הרהורי עבירה קשין מעבירה** "Intentions to transgress are worse than the transgression itself." To what an extent, moreover, even in the breasts of enlightened Jews, the conviction of the guilt of lust could vanish, appears, in a very striking manner, from Kimchi's An. on Ps. lxvi. 18.

We have still to inquire, whether we ought to take *γυνή* here in the sense of *γαμετή*, and restrict it exclusively to a *wife*, as Erasmus, Piscator, Maldonatus, Grotius and Wetstein do, or whether it stands quite generally, according to the translation of the Vulgate and the opinion of Euthymius, Beza, Er. Schmidt, Rosenmüller and Fritzsche, for *mulier*. When it is understood in the latter sense, then *μοιχεύειν* assumes the proportionally general meaning of *πορνεύειν, ἐταιρῆν*,

stuprare, which it has elsewhere in Greek, as *mæ-chari* likewise has in Latin authors. If we adhere strictly to the intention of Christ, which is to give the *πλήρωσις* to the particular commandment quoted by him, and trace up the sin mentioned to its ultimate root, we must regard both *γυνή* and *μοιχεύειν* as used *only* in the more restricted sense. What he means to say is: “*Adultery*,” for of fornication in general he designs not to speak, seeing that the law does not do so, “commences with the indulgence of *adulterous looks*.”^a

In expounding ver. 22, we were obliged, on the supposition of *εἰκῆ* being banished from the text, to annex the limitation, that not every sort of anger, nor every saying of *ῥακά* and *μωροί* is forbidden, but only such as lies on the same line with the *φόνος*, p. 245. Such a limitation is not required here. If *πρός* denote the intention, then, as Chrysostom quite correctly remarks, the declaration itself involves that

^a The word in the Old Testament law is *הגבול*, which, however Aben Ezra may try to extend its meaning, is yet, without doubt, in the Hebrew *usus loquendi* in no respect different from *גבול*; nor is there a single instance where, like the Greek *μοιχάω*, it is employed in the wider sense. On this ground alone, we might expect to find in the Hellenistic the strict idea of *μοιχεύειν*, and only understand it in a wider meaning, when such is expressly ascribed to it. In Hebrew, and also in the New Test. *μοιχεία* and *πορνεία* are found side by side, Hos. iv. 14; Mat. xv. 19; Gal. v. 19; Heb. xiii. 4. That *πορνεία*, however, as the more general idea, may comprehend in it the *μοιχεία* is what we should *a priori* expect. See the Observations, up. v. 32.

Christ speaks only of such a βλέπειν γυναῖκα as lies upon the same line with the μοιχεία.

There arises likewise the question, on the other hand, How can the Saviour declare of the external act of looking, when accompanied with evil desire,—an act which but lies upon the same line with the positive crime of adultery, and that at such a distance, that between the one and the other, a multitude of other intermediate acts likewise accompanied with evil desire, may at different stages be supposed,—how can he declare of this,—that it stands upon a level with actual adultery, and, which is a necessary consequence, is equally heinous? The scale of penalties given at ver. 22, clearly shews, that in that case the ὀργίζεσθαι, although it be placed upon the same line with the φόνος, is yet less criminal in the sight of God. Very few, indeed, of the interpreters have entered upon this question, contenting themselves with simply mustering a great multitude of quotations from the classics, in which it is affirmed that the inward desire, deserves punishment equally with the external act. Thus Seneca says: *Latro est antequam inquinet manus*; and again: *Injuriam qui facturus est, jam fecit*. So also Juvenal: *Has patitur poenas peccandi sola voluntas, Nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum, Facti crimen habet*. Compare Grotius. Declarations of this kind, however, are not absolutely correct, but become so only on a certain presumption, viz. that it is nothing but an outward impossibility which hinders the deed.^a Now,

^a Reinhard (*Moral* i. 554, 4te. *Ausg.*) appeals to this passage in reference to the *Cicisbeism* of the Italians. But *al-*

in proportion as we, on the contrary, suppose the co-operation of any religious or moral motive as a hinderance to the transition of the intention into a deed, the evil purpose or desire is obviously not entirely parallel with that, and, consequently also, not equally deserving of punishment. But that the Saviour by no means speaks exclusively of such movements of the ἐπιθυμία as are kept by mere external restraints from passing over into the act, and which thus perfectly coincide with it, is clear from the annexed clause, overlooked by all expositors: ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτήν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Does this mean, “he has, in the sight of God, committed the *outward* act of adultery?” In that sense, it certainly has been understood, and, by consequence, the appended clause considered as superfluous. Justin, even in his day,^a cites the saying thus: ἤδη ἐμοίχευσε τῇ καρδίᾳ παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, rendering the τῇ καρδίᾳ entirely tautological.^b It is, however, on the very contrary, declared “he has committed *inward* adultery with her, *i. e.* a certain species of adultery—an act comprehended within the

together as criminal in the sight of God as adultery, that relation certainly is not. Reinhard even adds: “*in most cases*, it is as bad as adultery.” If, however, as is commonly supposed, Christ here speaks of the equivalence of adultery with lascivious looks, so as to declare absolutely that they are equally deserving of punishment, then would the Cicisbeo *in all cases*, deserve the same punishment as the adulterer.

^a Apol. ii. 61.

^b It is hence also no matter of wonder, that some, as Clemens in three quotations, and the Jerusalem Syriac version, have omitted the whole clause. Nor is this, as Eichhorn will have it, to be considered as a mere oversight.

commandment which forbids that crime. That this is the correct interpretation is likewise proved by the circumstance that it puts the saying quite on a parallel with the *πλήρωσις* which Christ gives to the commandment respecting murder, and swearing, and retaliation. Of the first he says, "Even angry passion is included in the prohibition of manslaughter, when that is understood in its full depth." Of the second, "Even thoughtless swearing is comprehended in the command forbidding perjury when that is understood in its full depth." Again, "Even selfish resistance made to injustice is involved in the precept against undue revenge," and in fine, "the love of our enemies is included in the commandment which enjoins the love of our neighbour, when that is conceived in its whole extent." Chemnitz accordingly very excellently remarked upon our text, that it is precisely of the same kind with the saying of John, "Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer."^a

To misinterpret this text, as if it made every inward desire equally heinous in the sight of God, with the outward execution, is an error similar to that committed by those who, upon the admirable text, James ii. 10, build the conclusion, that whosoever offends in one point of the law, say, for instance, adultery, is regarded by God as guilty of transgressing all the rest. But there the 11th verse clearly shews how James

^a The Socinian Volkel, *De vera religione*, iv. 17, says with perfect truth in reference to our passage: *Habet cupiditas illa gradus suos, quorum licet quilibet adulterinum quoddam contineat, quo tamen propius quis ad externum adulterii effectum accedit, eo graviolem culpam sustinet.*

wishes to be understood. What he means to say is, "The law is a ring, if you break it at all, whether at one place or many, it is no longer whole. Still he who breaks it at many places, has broken it more than he who breaks it at one." In like manner, the faintest movement of inordinate lust is a violation of the law of conjugal chastity. Even by an impure look the holy bond of wedlock is broken. In this breach, however, there are manifold degrees.

V. 29, 30. First of all, we have to remark that the same sentiment, only in a somewhat more extended form, is also to be found in Matt. xviii. 9, and Mark ix. 43—47. When Olshausen in this, as in other instances, considers as the original one the connection in which the words there occur, he does what is in a high degree arbitrary. Even Kuinöl supposes, that they have their proper place here, and that Matthew has merely transferred them into the 18th chapter of his Gospel. We have shewn, p. 23, how totally unreasonable and absurd it would be, if one were to deny that Christ, on different occasions, repeated the same sentiments. That ver. 29—30 is connected in the finest manner, with the warning of ver. 28, just as ver. 23—26 is with ver. 22, is obvious.

According as our Saviour, ver. 23, 24, had shewn, that, for the purpose of pacifying, the *ὄργη* felt towards a brother, the most sacred of all employments, even that of sacrifice, ought to be interrupted, he now shews, that we must surrender even what we count most dear, if that be necessary to prevent unclean

desire. We set out with viewing the saying in its *proper* and absolute sense, and shall then proceed to the solution of the difficulties it presents. Carrying on the thought of the previous context, our Saviour now mentions the *eye*, as the organ of the ἀκολάστως βλέπειν, and the *hand* as that of the αἰσχύντως ἀπτεσθαι; Of the *foot*, which occurs in the parallel passages, no notice is here taken. The *eye*, and especially the *apple of the eye*, is among all nations the image for that which is most dearly loved: See Gesenius, Thes. s. v. עֵינַי. Compare in Latin the expressions, Oculis nil carius, Diligo eum ut oculos; and from the N. T., Gal. iv. 15. Expressions of this kind have, however, been improperly adduced by commentators, inasmuch as here the eye does not stand as an image for what we like best, but for *any one of the members of the body*; which is shewn by the epithet δεξιός, and the co-ordination of χεῖρ δεξιά. The addition of this predicate δεξιός might be regarded as a mere individualization, as, for instance, when it is said, “Whosoever shall smite thee on thy *right* cheek;” and of the leaven in the parable, that it was “hid in *three* measures of meal.” It is more correct, however, to consider it as a designation of preference. In support of this, the passage from Aristotle has been adduced, De animalium incessu, c. 4: φύσει βέλτιον τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ; and Augustine also says: *Dexter* fortasse ad augendam vim dilectionis valet. Quanquam enim ad videndum isti oculi corporis communiter intenduntur.....amplius tamen formidant homines dextrum amittere. In ge-

neral too among the ancients, just as among ourselves, children were accustomed not to use the left hand, Plut. de lib. educ. c. 7. It has, however, very strangely been forgotten to adduce the biblical parallels: Zach. xi. 17 and 1 Sam. xi. 2. Accordingly, the best loved eye and the best loved hand, the most indispensable of the indispensable members of the body, ought to be surrendered, the moment they become to us the occasion of sin, and that—the part being contrasted with the whole,—in order that the entire body may not suffer eternal torment. Thus is the surgeon wont to amputate the diseased limb—*ne pars sincera trahatur*—to save the body.

So much in explanation of the *proper* sense of the saying. We now inquire in how far that is admissible. Can it then be the meaning of Christ, that *whenever* lust employs the agency of a corporeal organ, the organ, and that alone, is to be destroyed? Assuredly not. For independently altogether of the consideration, that this would presuppose the sin resident merely in the organs, and not at all in the desire; if he meant to say that, on every movement of lust, our hostility should be directed not against the lust itself, but against the organ it employed, the precept would amount to a direct condemnation of all mankind to suicide. Accordingly, even the interpreters who urge the *proper* sense of the words, have been compelled, *a priori*, to have recourse to *limitations*. In point of fact, such interpreters have been very few in number. The only one I know of in more remote times is Pricæus, whose lead, Fr. A. Fritzsche, in his Commentary, and Chr. Fr. Fritzsche, in his

dissertation upon this text,^a have quite recently followed.^b Now, while such interpreters expressly deny, that what is here said contains any mixture of either hyperbole or hypothesis, they still restrict the Saviour's words, by maintaining that "the precept has been laid down only for a case of the *last extremity*." "In the character of a popular and rigid teacher of morality," says Chr. Fr. Fritzsche, "does Christ here, as elsewhere, chap. v. 22; xviii. 21, 22; xix. 9, at once enjoin not a smaller degree, but the very utmost of our duty, in order to impress the truth more deeply upon the heart."^c Hence, in

^a Observat. ad. Mat. v. 29, 30, 39. Halle 1828.

^b J. D. Michaelis also certainly understands it in the proper sense, but thinks that the Lord Jesus only meant, "You say you cannot help it; make then a trial in *this* way. That, however, is what people would think twice of before they did." So also Dr. Paulus. The words of Pricæus are as follows: *Christum autem secundum literam accipio, nec tamen sine temperamento, nempe si vitio quis alias incurabile laboret. Alioqui enim verissimum et receptissimum Philippi illud apud Frontinum: Si partem ægram corporis haberem, abscinderem potius quam curarem?* l. iv. c. 7.

^c Dr. Fr. A. Fritzsche, in his Comment. in h. l. says, in vindication of the literal sense: *Primum enim tanta præciendi asperitas severo honestatis magistro belle convenit; (Is it then, indeed, so well becoming the character of a true sage to punish the innocent for the guilty object, and extirpate the eyes instead of the lust? Does it become the character of a Saviour of mankind to convert his church—supposing among them any degree of obedience to his words at all—into a vast hospital of cripples?) Deinde, verissima prodit sententia, quandoquidem levius certe malum erat, membro corporis destitutum regni Messiani felicitate potiri, quam toto corpore*

examining whether it be admissible to understand the saying in the *proper* sense, we must conceive it when interpreted in that sense, under this limitation, seeing that it is not otherwise tolerable. Even, however, when the necessity of compliance is supposed to be required by Christ only in certain extreme cases, the precept gives just offence. It is true, little weight is to be assigned to the objections, That according to Ephes. v. 29, the preservation and care of the body are recommended, That the Jewish law forbade the mutilation of the person, and That, in certain circumstances, literal compliance might even occasion death. Because to all these it might be replied, that in a collision of duties, those which we owe to the body must always be subordinated to those we owe to the soul. Neither is it possible to enforce the remark upon which all have placed so much importance, viz. that the Saviour himself, according to Matt. xv. 19, derives the *μοιχείαι* and *πορνείαι* not from the members of the body, but from the *καρδία*; just as in the previous context, he speaks of a *βλέπειν*, with the *ἐπιθυμία*, which infers that it may also be conceived without it. The advocates of the literal construction have it in their power to reply as follows: “Doubtless the Saviour means not to say, that the eye and the hand,

infernīs Geennæ suppliciiis tradi: Postremo, foret constantiæ, v. 39, improprie enarrare, a quo concilio multa deterrent. Certainly it costs these interpreters least to ascribe to Christ the most severe, nay even absurd injunctions, who have before-hand dispensed both themselves and Christendom from all obligation to obey them.

per se, are guilty. Σκανδαλίζειν = σκάνδαλον εἶναι not only designates something in itself evil, and, as such, giving another occasion to fall; in which sense it certainly is used, Mark ix. 42, thereby yielding an inference as to its use in the text ver. 43, 45—47, a parallel to the one before us, and in which sense, *e. g.* it is also to be found in the passage, Ps. Sal. xvi. 7: ἐπικράτησόν μου ἀπὸ πάσης γυναικὸς πονηρᾶς σκανδαλιζούσης ἄφρονα; But it is likewise used of that which is good in itself, seeing that even our Saviour speaks of a σκανδαλίζεσθαι, where his own words and works are the σκάνδαλον, Matt. xi. 6; xiii. 57; xxvi. 31—33. The sense, accordingly, is rather as follows: So much is sin an object to be shunned, that anything, however good it may be, yea even the most indispensable members of your body, if still made the instruments of it, and you can help yourself in no other way, are to be sacrificed for that end. For it cannot be denied, that I ought to renounce even what is naturally innocent and good, provided it ever gives me fresh occasion of transgression.^a Thus it was that Paul, Rom. xiv.; 1 Cor. xi. prohibited the flesh of sacrifices the moment that the use of it,—a thing harmless in itself,—became a σκάνδαλον to the weak brother. And

^a Such a case would be that in Heliodors Æthiop, ii. 25, where a certain person says with respect to a beautiful girl: Ἐπὶ πολὺ τε τοῖς σώματος ὀφθαλμοῖς τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀντιστήσας, ἀπῆλθον τὸ τελευταῖον ἠττηθεὶς καὶ πάθος ἐρωτικὸν ἐπιφορτισάμενος. As we shall immediately find, however, the Christian must antecedently have the certainty, that fighting with Christ upon his side, he shall never suffer such a ἥσσα of the ὀφθαλμοὶ τῆς ψυχῆς.

should any still insist that Jesus must then have added at least an *εἰ ἄλλως οὐ δυνατόν*, this objection is fully obviated by ver. 39—40, where, in like manner, if anywhere else, such an *εἰ ἄλλως οὐ δυνατόν* might have been expected." Such is the reply which the defenders of the proper sense may make, and doubtless all depends upon the truth of the single point, whether the maxim "I must shun and deny myself even that which is innocent and pure, as soon as it becomes to me an occasion of sin," is here applicable. But *what kind* of things, in themselves good, must I deny myself, when they are accompanied with an occasion of sinning? Manifestly not every sort, but only those which are, *per se*, indifferent, and may as well be omitted as performed. Where duty commands, I ought rather *in every case* to triumph by faith over the temptations connected with its discharge. For "Faith is the victory which overcometh the world," and Paul says, Phil. iv. 13, "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." Now it is my duty to vanquish the temptations of the flesh, not by the extinction of my bodily existence, but by the aids of the *Spirit*, Rom. viii. 4, 13; vi. 12, 13; Col. iii. 5.^a The contrary view would go to defend the monastic and hermit life, that being frequently the mere offspring of apprehensions in the person em-

^a Chrysostom: οὐ γὰρ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ὄρων, ἀλλ' ὁ νοῦς καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς. Pelagius: Christiani oculus nudum vidit non ad *concupiscendum* sed ad *vestiendum*. Tertullian: Christianus salvis oculis fœminam videt, *animo* adversus libidinem cœcus est.

bracing it of his inability to triumph over temptation in any other way ; against which however, the words of Christ have a direct bearing, when he prays the Father, John xvii. 15, Not to take his followers out of the world, but to keep them from the evil ; and those of Paul, when he exhorts the Corinthians not to fly from life in order to avoid the company of sinners, 1 Cor. v. 10. On that view also, Origen's misapprehension of Matt. xix. 12, in which he found many imitators,^a would be perfectly justified ; for it might be pleaded, that whoever desired to serve the kingdom of God with entire devotion, and had no other means of mastering his sensual desires, was under obligation to adopt his expedient. In like manner would the slanderer be bound to tear out his *tongue*, and he who felt tempted by improper talk, to destroy the *sense of hearing*. What is still worse, however, the very object of these amputations would not be attained, for as desire has its seat in the heart, it might still continue to rage there, even after the instrument of its execution was annihilated ; just as we know the love of pleasure was by no means extirpated from the breast, by entrance into the monastery or hermit's cell. *There can consequently exist no case* in which, for the subjugation of desire, the amputation of any member of the body would be obligatory. Along with these reasons, which the

^a A canon of the Council of Nice required expressly to refuse entrance into the ministry to all ecclesiastics who *ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξέτεμον*. In the Canon. Apost., it is justly said of such a one : *αὐτοφονεύτης ἐστὶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δημιουργίας ἐχθρός*.

matter itself affords against the proper sense, we have still to state that which is derived from the language, and which even in their day Hilary and Chrysostom notice. It is, that if the Saviour had really meant that the power of vision should be destroyed, he must necessarily have spoken of the offending and extirpation $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu \delta\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\tilde{\omega}\nu$, *the eyes*, and not of *the single eye*; for *neither can the one offend without the co-operation of the other, nor can the plucking out of the one answer the purpose*, so long as the other remains. What kind of offence, moreover, can we suppose *that to be, which the hand gives*? True, the thief may say, that his palm itches whenever he sees the glistening coin. But there again, the *eye* would be the sinful member; or must both the greedy eye and the itching palm be exterminated together?

Supposing, accordingly, the impossibility of embracing the direct sense of the words even under any limitation, the next shift which offers itself is to consider them as a hyperbolico-hypothetical mode of expression. Thus the saying is sometimes called *hyperbolical*, sometimes *hypothetical*, and sometimes both at once by Calvin, Beza, Chemnitz, Flacius, Glassius, Grotius, Maldonatus^a and Episcopius. Elsner uses the expression *emphatic*.

^a Maldonatus: Mihi perire videtur sensus et energia gratiaque locutionis, si aliud quam verum oculum veramque manum intelligamus. Est enim *elegans exaggeratio*, &c. Such remarks by Maldonatus, who here found himself in opposition to his *Patres*, characterize him as an independent and intelligent expositor.

Now, certainly the proposition is an hypothesis, inasmuch as it is conditional. It is, however, called hypothetical in a sense which represents the *ὑπόθεσις* as an impossibility. Now, against that, the language affords an argument. For had it been intended to describe the thing supposed as totally destitute of reality, the entire sentence must have been differently expressed, and we should have read: *Εἰ ἐσκανδαλίζετό σε ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς σου, ἀναγκαῖον (ἂν) ἦν ἐκκόπτειν αὐτόν* (See Hermann zu Viger. s. 821, Bernhardt, Syntax s. 376), which is the Latin and likewise the usual German Imp. Conj.; Compare 1 Cor. xi. 31: *Εἰ ἑαυτοὺς διεκρίνομεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκρινόμεθα*; Luke vii. 39; John ix. 33. But our proposition does not even lay down an indefinite possibility, in which case the conjunctive would stand with *εἰάν*, as at Gal. i. 8; nor, which would be still more determinate, employ the future tense, as Matt. xxvi. 33: *Εἰ πάντες σκανδαλισθήσονται ἐν σοί, ἐγὼ οὐδέποτε σκανδαλισθήσομαι*; Comp. Jas. ii. 11. On the contrary, we have *εἰ* with the pres. indic. which supposes the matter to be one of actual occurrence, and which, according to circumstances, may amount to just as much as *εἴγε* or *ὅτι*, as is shewn, e. g. by the Platonic *εἰ ἐθέλεις* and *εἰ μέλλεις*. The hypothesis in the expression, accordingly, consists in the occurrence of the thing, as well as its possibility being supposed.

We are hence obliged to take refuge in the hyperbole. Now, with this figure of speech, great improprieties have been committed, both of old and in modern times, as for instance, when Flacius, in his *Clavis*, calls the portraiture of Charity, 1 Cor. xiii.,

hyperbolical, and supports the opinion of such an exaggeratio by the ἔστι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῶν δείκνυμι; When Reinhard, in his *Dogmatik*, terms the *unio mystica* an emphatic, *i. e.* a hyperbolical Hebraism, and when Ammon in the Annotation upon Ernesti's *Institut. Hermen.* ed. 5, p. 135,^a denominates the phrase ἀνθρώπος Θεοῦ, a formula hyperbolica. We ought not, therefore, very much to blame those persons, in the present times, who hold the maxim, that we must take the word of God strictly, and who, from the apprehension of charging the inspired authors with falsehood, shudder at every supposition of an hyperbole in the Scripture, when we find them thus going to the opposite extreme. The hyperbole is a figure of speech, which, to consider the matter logically or *in abstracto*, either says more (αὐξήσις) or less (μείωσις) than consistently with truth might be said. Now the language which we use, is never *abstract*, but is always, as discourse, addressed to a *concrete* individual. It is hence not purely *logical* but *rhetorical*. The rhetorical character, however, consists in taking into view the qualities of the person addressed, and so calculating our diction as to make it produce upon him the intended impression. Τὸ τέλος τοῦ λόγου, said the ancient rhetoricians, ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀκροατήν. Thus, in becoming *discourse*, language receives a *historical* character; The words no longer signify what is their primary, but what is their actual import. Supposing then the significance of words to have been, in the flight of time, either diminished or heightened, or that the im-

^a Bib. Cab. Vol. i. p. 165, § 11, note g.

pression intended can only be brought about by the *αὔξησης* or *λιτότης*, he who uses them is guilty of no falsehood. The expression *dreadfully cold*, at present signifies no more than *very cold indeed*, even although there be no terror in the case. As this observation justifies the hyperbole, so it also fixes its limits. It becomes morally reprehensible if the *ἀκροατής* is not in a situation to recognise it to be a hyperbole; just as it becomes rhetorically reprehensible, when the orator employs it on some very low subject, so that its intention is defeated. Hyperboles of this kind, Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 3, reckons among the *ψυχρά*, and they are severely censured by critics, such as Dionysius Halic. on Thucydides, *Judic. de Thucyd.* c. 15, and by Photius, *Myriobibl. Cod.* 40, on Philostorgius, as being *ψυχρολογία* and *ἀκυρολογία*.^a There are two special cases in which the hyperbole is acknowledged to have its right place, viz. in poetry and proverbs. When the Arabian, for example, says of a son of fortune, “Cast him into the sea, and he will still emerge with a fish in his mouth,” or the Greek of a hesitating orator, *Βοῦν ἐπὶ γλώττης φέρει*,

^a Nowhere is this *ψυχρολογία* more rife than in the Talmud, in which, not merely in a rhetorical, but in a proper sense, it becomes a *τετρατολογία*. Now and then, however, it is a little too strong for commentators. If we take into account the prodigious extent in which it is there used, under the name *גזלגזל*, it will appear to occur proportionally, but very seldom, in the discourses of Christ, which arises from the dignity of his language. For the feeling of Aristotle is perfectly just when he says: *λέγειν ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς πρῆσβυτέρῳ ἀπρεπίς*. The figure in the inverse proportion of its proverbialness, always indicates strong feeling, *μειρακιῶδες τι*, as Aristotle says.

every one knows that these expressions are not to be cut to the quick. Now, expressions of this kind are everywhere to be found in Scripture; Poetical ones without number in the Old Testament; Proverbial ones in the New. It is true, indeed, that with respect to what we have to consider as such, Flacius, Glassius and Mascho^a have gone much too far. Neither does Tzschucke, in the *Commentar. Logico-rhetoricus de Sermonibus Jesu Christi*, p. 256, altogether satisfy, although he lays down right principles.^b We have already, at vers. 18 and 25, met with two such proverbial hyperbolic expressions, where we also referred to Luke xix. 44. And in the same class we have to rank Matt. xviii. 6; xix. 24; xxiii. 24; Luke x. 4; xvii. 6. To the poetical hyperboles of the N. T. belongs Matt. xxiv. 29, of which the prophets had drawn the outline. Now we may also suppose an hyperbole in the present passage. If Paul, Gal. iv. 15, says: "Ye would have plucked out your own eyes and given them to me," which he could not intend quite literally, why may not Christ also, in the same style of diction, here declare: If thy right eye or right hand become an occasion of sin, pluck them out?^c

^a Unterricht von den Bibl. Tropen und Figuren, 1773.

^b Ernst Imm. Walch, in his *Abhandlung, 'Εγγχώριον ἤθος* in *stylo populorum Orient.*, also quotes our passage as a specimen of it. It is hard, however, to perceive wherein he finds the orientalism of the expression.

^c The sentiment of Seneca, Ep. 51, would then be parallel: Projice quæcunque cor tuum laniant, quæ si aliter extrahi nequirent, cor ipsum cum illis evellendum erat. Philo, *Quod det. pot. ins.* p. 186, F.: Διόπερ ἐλίσσεται ἄν μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ μὴ τελείως ἀπαίδευτοι, πεπενηρωσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ τὰ μὴ προσήκονθ'

Should any object that, from their close concatenation with the preceding context, the audience could not but take the words in their exact sense, we reply, 1. That here the transition is not made by the more strict inferential *οὖν, igitur, itaque*; but by the *δέ, autem*; 2. That the connection might be effected by the mere association of ideas; 3. That to the reflective mind, the proper sense was excluded by the fact, that mention is made of one eye and not of both; 4. That other sayings assisted in guiding to the true sense, so that no one, who had heard the whole doctrine of Christ, could ever fancy that he designed his church to be a mere hospital of cripples. From what we have now said, it is clear that, in an ethical point of view, nothing can be objected to the supposition of an hyperbole; and rhetorically also there would be just as little, supposing that we had merely the first members of the two sayings before us. They have each, however, supplementary clauses, in which the right eye and the right hand, as single members, are contrasted with the whole body; and this circumstance obliges us to abandon the supposition of an hyperbole, and to enter the domain of the image. The members, contrasted with the entire body, acquire a figurative significance.

If then we view the saying as figurative, we en-

ὁρᾶν, κερκωφῶσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ βλαβερῶν ἀκούειν λόγων κτλ. Or as we read in Heliodorus, *Æthiop. ii. 16*: *Βέλτιον ἢν θατέρου μετῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἰλαττωθῆναι, ἢπερ ἐπὶ σοὶ φροντίζειν.* Only here we uniformly find, in place of the Oriental positive, the more cool comparative of the west.

counter a whole multitude of interpretations. The Danish theologian Winstруп, in his *Pandectæ Sacræ*, (a very prolix commentary upon the ten first chapters of Matthew,) enumerates nine tropical explanations, which number might be still increased. These may be reduced into two classes. The first would embrace those which consider the members of the body, as here denoting the desire operating through their agency. In this class Kuinöl takes his place, who, very darkly, calls the expressions Hebraisms: Jam vero constat Hebræos cupiditates pravas comparare solitos esse cum membris corporis, v. c. ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός haud raro indicat invidiam. It is not, however, a *comparison* which is made of the desires to the corporeal members, but, if we allow the metonymy, the *instrumentum* is put *pro causa operante*; nor is that a thing peculiar to the Hebrews, but in virtue of the sensible way in which poetry contemplates its subject, prevails among all nations. Von der Hardt instances the vulgar German expressions: “I shall pull your likerish tooth:” The thief’s fingers itch:” “His long fingers must be cut off.” This figurative conception of the text is ancient. Jerome says: Quia supra de concupiscentia mulieris dixerat, recte nunc cogitationem et sensum in diversa volitantem, *oculum* nuncupavit. Per dextram autem et cæteras corporis partes *voluntatis* et *affectus initia* demonstrantur. The author of the Opus Imp. brings forward the view, partly that the members denote the corresponding evil affections, and partly that the *right* eye and *right* hand mean the *voluntas animæ*, i. e. according to his psychology, the determination of the will, to which

he opposes the *voluntas carnis* as the unruly passion. Compare also Eulogius after Photius in Suicer, s. v. ὀφθαλμός. The former view is likewise to be found in Luther, Bengel and Cocceius. Biblical analogies for it lie in the texts, Job xxxi. 7; Col. iii. 15. Less appositely may the Σταυροῦν τὴν σάρκα, Gal. v. 24 and Rom. vi. 6, be quoted. It is excluded, however, by the mere ὁ δεξιός, inasmuch as an analogy with these other texts would only be created by *the eyes* and *the hands* being mentioned. We have to add, that the contrast of the part with the whole—the σῶμα—necessarily demands that the thing to be destroyed be in its nature good, καὶ μὴ being, like the Hebrew אֵינִי, comparative. (See e. g. Ruth ii. 22; the Jerus. Targ. on Gen. xxxviii. 26; John xi. 50). At Matt. xviii. and Mark ix. 43, there stands ἦ, so that the member spoken of is, comparatively with the body, a less considerable good. Did the eye mean sinful inclination, how could it be represented, at Matt. xviii. 9, as a ἡστνημα in him who enters the kingdom of heaven, that he is μονόφθαλμος, or as it ought rather to be, ἐστρόφθαλμος. (The cyclops is μονόφθαλμος, having *by nature*, only one eye.) That would rather be a πλεονέκτημα.

We turn, therefore, to the second class of tropical explanations which agree in this, that they consider ὁ ὀφθαλμός ὁ δεξιός as a figurative designation of some esteemed and real good, knit as closely to a man as his dearest bodily member. With this precious member, stands contrasted the σῶμα, as the totality of all that he holds dear. That the latter, which is dearest of all, may not become the prey of ruin,

that which is less dear must be sacrificed. Now, in embracing, as we do, this explanation, which is chiefly to be found in Pellicanus, we likewise suppose that the ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ὁ δεξιῶς is linked to the previous context merely by association of ideas, and that the connecting thought between the two sayings is as follows: According to this severe mode of judging, by which I bring within the domain of adultery, even the act of looking impurely upon a woman, you will say, Who then can guard himself against heinous transgression, seeing that occasions entice us on every hand? But far rather, let the sweetest satisfactions be abjured than that that which you ought to value above all, viz. your soul and its salvation, should be endangered! We may compare Matt. xix. 10, where the disciples reply to Jesus' severe decision on the subject of divorce, "If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry;" upon which the Saviour, with equally stern gravity, rejoins, that in point of fact, some abstain from marriage for the kingdom of heaven's sake; adding at the same time, however, that this is not given to all. A parallel to the saying, when thus understood, is also to be found in Matt. xvi. 26: For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? Consonant with this, in the main, are those explanations of the ancients, which referred the bodily members more specially and directly to near connections; as that of Chrysostom, for instance, who understands by the *eye*, the dearest, and by the *hand* the most indispensable friend we have, and who, along with the seducer, would be plunged into ruin. Athanasius,

Cyril, Hilary, Pacianus, Theophylact, (also Lilienthal, *Gute Sache der Offenb.* v. 350,) suppose the *propinquitates carissimorum virorum*, desirous of involving us in fellowship with their sin. Augustine understands it first generally of every impediment in the way of salvation, but afterwards, in consequence of the *dexter*, gives it a more special bearing upon the *dilectus consiliarius in rebus divinis*, who labours to seduce us into a heresy.

There is one more of the special figurative interpretations deserving of notice; that which Olshausen has brought forward. In what he delivers upon the saying in the present passage, his meaning cannot be seized with sufficient precision; for, under the persuasion that it originally belonged to chapter xviii., it is there that he treats it. He sets out with the statement, that it is impossible to look upon the annexed clause, *καλόν σοί ἐστίν, εἰς τὴν ζωὴν εἰσελθεῖν μονόφθαλμον, κυλλόν κτλ.* as insignificant, and grounds thereupon an ingenious figurative interpretation of the whole. "The eye, hand, and foot, he says, designate intellectual powers and capacities, which it is advisable not to develope, whenever we are conscious that their developement would divert us from that of the highest principle of life. Our perfection consists in the cultivation of all our talents on every side, the inferior as well as the superior; still, whosoever is convinced that he cannot cultivate certain capabilities of an inferior order, as, *e. g.* a taste for the fine arts, without loss to his sacred interests, let him give up their cultivation, and save first of all the most precious element of his existence."

This ingenious conception recommends itself, by the consideration, that inasmuch as it contrasts the spiritual members with the spiritual totality of man, it coincides more strictly with the figure than is the case, when only some one needful and seemingly indispensable object is set in contrast with all that is dear. Upon a stricter examination, however, the advantage disappears. For the only capacities of which it can be said, that we are bound to leave them unimproved, when their cultivation would be detrimental to the highest principle of our nature, are those which are possessed in too inconsiderable a degree, to merit the name of *gift* or *talent*, as, for instance, if one had capabilities for becoming a dilettante in the arts. On the other hand, no Christian will ever think himself justifiable in suffering real gifts and talents to rust unused, from a solicitude lest they should prove detrimental to his spiritual life; otherwise he would come under the apprehension of being like the servant, who said, "Thy pound I have kept laid up in a napkin; for I feared thee, because thou art an austere man." Luke xix. 20. If, then, the maxim which has been laid down applies merely to the superficial *qualifications for a dilettante*, the figure does not suit, for of such it can in nowise be said, that they stand in the same relation to the nobler part of man, in which the *members* do to the *body*. Thus, the sole advantage which serves to recommend this explanation disappears. Moreover, not to take into account that it cannot well be admitted in the connection before us, nor even suits, in the best possible manner, that of Matt. xviii., it must be conced-

ed that the view altogether has a very new-fashioned air. The division of the mind into different faculties and powers belongs entirely to the reflective philosophy of modern times, and if interpreted accordingly, the whole passage would appear rather as an artificial allegory, the offspring of reflection, than an image replete with energy and life. It would savour of the Alexandrine school, as, in point of fact, the same interpretation of it is actually to be met with in Origen.^a

We only further append a grammatical observation respecting the concluding words. Fr. A. Fritzsche observes upon the Συμφέρει γάρ σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται κτλ.: *Jure tuo mireris, hæc verba contra linguæ leges ab interpretibus, ne Grotio quidem excepto, sic explanata esse, Nam est tibi conducibile unum tuorum membrorum perire, nec totum corpus Geennæ tradi. Ita enim scriptum oportebat: συμφέρει—ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ μὴ—βληθῆναι.* This commentator would, therefore, refer the *συμφέρει γάρ σοι* to the preceding *ἔξελε*, and thus conceive the whole proposition: *Expedi tibi evelli oculus ac projici, ut (in order that) unum tuo-*

^a In the Com. on Matt. (Ed. de la Rue, iii. 603,) Origen, after applying the image to the relation held by the single members towards the whole of the community, gives another exposition of it, which entirely coincides with that of Olshausen. Of the eye and the hand, (the text has here suffered,) of the soul he says: "Ατινα κρεῖττον ἀποβαλεῖν καὶ ἀποθέμενον αὐτὰ χωρὶς αὐτῶν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, οἴονεῖ, χωλὸν ἢ κυλλὸν ἢ μονόματτον ἢ μετ' ἰκείων τὴν ὅλην ἀπολέσαι ψυχὴν ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, καλὸν καὶ μακάριον ἐπὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει αὐτῆς· εἰ δὲ μίλλομεν διὰ τινὰ μίαν ἀπολέσθαι αἰρετώτερον ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῆς, ἵνα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων δυνάμεων σωθῶμεν."

rum membrorum intereat, nec, (quod, si non evellisset, accideret) totum tuum corpus Geennæ committatur. But that, in the later Greek, *ἵνα* was often used, where otherwise the infinitive might have been anticipated, has recently been convincingly shewn by Winer, Gr. s. 277, and by Tittman De Usu part. in N. T. Synon. l. ii.

V. 31, 32. We have already observed, that but few interpreters have been attentive to the connection of this saying with that which goes before it. Among these, Chrysostom justly observes: Ἴδοὺ γὰρ καὶ ἕτερον δείκνυσιν ἡμῖν πάλιν μοιχείας εἶδος. And unquestionably the connection consists in our Saviour shewing how every inconsiderate separation between man and wife, yea even remarriage, belongs to the domain of adultery. This reason for the saying suffices to obviate the objection of those who, in the present case likewise, point to Matt. xix. as its original place. We cannot commend the view of Pellicanus, (it is also that of Chrysostom,) who looks upon the precept as a limitation of the one preceding it; as if a wife were not comprehended amongst those things which we are bound to renounce.

In order to apprehend in all its inward truth and depth what is here said on the subject of divorce, we require to set out with the view which Reason, improved by religious and moral culture, and guided by the light of Scripture, discloses with respect to *Marriage* in general.^a The sexual relation leads us into the

^a On the relation of the sexes to each other, there is an admirable essay in *Von Meyer's Blättern für höhere Wahrheit, 1te und 2te Sammlung*. There is also much instructive

profoundest mystery of life, viz. that Without duality there is no living unity, No generation, without the antithesis of positive and negative. Thus it is, that the law of polarity pervades alike the realm of suns and planets, and all the forces and elements, substances and orders of beings upon this earth. Only it becomes a different thing in every different domain. In the department of organized nature, ascending from the first faint rudiments of a difference of *sex* in the tribe of lichens to the Anther and Pistil in the more perfect stages of the vegetable, and across into the animal kingdom, the law of polarity attains its fairest bloom, appearing under both a spiritual and corporeal manifestation, in the sexual distinction of the human species. Even here, however, just as every where else, the antithesis in unity rests upon a differential relation betwixt the party more, and the party less, endowed with power; and although that theory of woman which represents her as man in an inferior degree of perfection, be far too meagre, it still is true that she cannot be regarded as just another type of humanity, but is moreover a repetition, in gentler outline, of the same idea which is impressed upon the male. To this view we are guided, first of all by the Mosaic revelation, according to which the woman was formed out of the man, and in pursuance of which the Apostle, in the profound section, 1 Cor. xi. 3—16, represents the subordination of the wife to

matter in the essay of Schubert on the distinction of the two sexes in the 1st part of his *Ahndungen einer allgemeinen Geschichte des Lebens*, s. 135—213; comp. also Steffens *Anthropologie*, 2te Th, s. 447.

the man as founded in *their original creation*. In the same passage too, he describes the man as him who, participating, by virtue of his mental and bodily power, the governing dignity of the Deity, shews forth in a fuller sense the image and glory of God, whereas the woman is but the image of the *δόξα ἀνδρός*. In conformity with this theory, which has a deep basis in nature, the Scripture also everywhere enjoins subjection upon the wife, as the *ἀσθενέστερον σκεῦος*, 1 Pet. iii. 7, and limits her to the still life of the domestic circle. Now, even upon this ground, viz. that no prerogative of human nature, subserving man as the complement of his perfection, is essentially inherent in the female sex, we cannot acquiesce in the opinion expressed by Schwarz.^a “There can be no perfect man, because each individual exists either as *man* or *woman*. Hence it is, that humanity is divided; nor was it a mere romantic notion of Plato’s, when he viewed it as composed of two halves. It can be demonstrated, that by the separation of the sexes, the organization of the individual acquires a degree of imperfection, just as on the other hand, it is solely by that means that the species is secured. Hence, the desire of union into one.”^b Led by this view, religious natural philoso-

^a Ueber die Erziehung, i. s. 150.

^b This passage is incidentally quoted by Stallbaum on Plato’s Symposium, p. 72, in confirmation of the fable of Androgynes. But notwithstanding that that fable is so frequently regarded as Platonic philosophy, such is not, however, the case, for in the place alluded to, Aristophanes by no means speaks according to the mind of Plato, as E. Stephanus, p. 205, indubita-

phers, like Jacob Böhme and St. Martin,^a have endeavoured to force the Platonic Androgynes into the Mosaic account, Gen. i. 27, and to represent the separation of the sexes as the effect of a spiritual lapse. It is, however, contradicted by the sexual antithesis, pervading the whole of nature, and wherein the creative omnipotence equally reveals its fulness, as in the diversity of races; which some likewise consistently trace back to sin. It is further also contradicted by the express profound intimation given in the Mosaic account, Gen. ii. 25, of the purity of the relation between the sexes before the fall, and, to say nothing of other arguments, by the Saviour's declaration, Matt. xix. 4—6, in which the division into separate sexes is presupposed as having subsisted ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. On the contrary, we are far more strongly obliged to regard the fable of Androgynes as nothing but a historical veil of the truth, that the existence of woman presupposes that of man. It has, indeed, been attempted to justify the view we have discussed, by the celibacy of Christ, and the declarations of Paul upon the subject of marriage; But, by a reversal of the argument, the conjugal

ably demonstrates, where Diotima profoundly observes to Socrates, "According to what you say, let no one seek the half of himself, nor any love himself, nay, hands and feet must be cut off, if they seem bad; Let no one love anything but goodness." Rückert, in his edition of the Symposium, has censured that error, s. 274.

^a Full of genius is St. Martin in his book, *Vom Geist und Wesen der Dinge* übers. Von Schubert. Th. i. s. 57. *Kanne Christus im A. T.* Th. ii. s. 158. *Von Meyer, Blätter für höhere Wahrheit, Elfte Sammlung, Ueber Adam*, s. 48.

relation might much rather be inferred as an indispensable mean towards our restoration to the primeval state.

Proceeding now to determine the end of this twofold impress of the idea of humanity, it results directly from what we have said respecting her nature, that woman is made for dependence upon, and to serve as the organ of man. *Και γὰρ οὐκ ἐκτίσθη ἀνὴρ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ γυνή διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα*, 1 Cor. xi. 9. The same is also expressed by *כָּנַעַן וְיָעַ*, Gen. ii. 18; Just as, on the other hand, man acquires *through the medium of love*, the destination to become the protecting, ruling and impregnating power of woman, by whose means she fulfils her destination, in the same happy way as himself does through Christ, 1 Cor. xi. 3, 11, 12; Eph. v. 28, 29. The realization of this idea is brought about by marriage; and inasmuch as that connection reposes entirely upon the capacity on the one side to rule and fructify in love, and upon the susceptibility for conception and subjection on the other, so the idea of it is manifested in its culminating point in the act of generation. As man holds all his powers in fief from the Supreme, and knows no higher honour than to be the exponent and administrator of these, he has been endowed, among other gifts, with the faculty of stamping and multiplying his own image; and *within the circle of generation* is to be found the highest and holiest intention of marriage. This intention was intimated at the original creation, Gen. i. 28, and is likewise declared in the N. T., 1 Tim. ii.

15.^a We say *within the circle of generation*; for even, *a priori*, we must not look upon the *procreation* of the child as isolated. That necessarily presumes the *education* of it, which is, in fact, the mere continuation of the primary act of imparting life by bodily generation. *Singly and solely on the supposition, that the spiritual life of the parents is transplanted into the children, does the communication of corporeal life become a blessing.* Conceived in this point of view, the formation of the conjugal tie implies in its very nature the inseparable union of the two parties, as it is only on that proviso that the act of corporeal procreation can become that which it ought to be, viz. a ground-work for the fabric of a spiritual creation in the human being, begotten *in our* image, but *for* the image of *God*. Upon this single ground, accordingly, the indissolubility of the conjugal tie appears, on one side, to result from its very nature, the moment we contemplate it in that light, whose rays alone discover the inmost relations of things, the light of religion. The very same destination for permanence is also, however, connected inseparably with the idea of marriage, even in the case when its chief end is not attained, viz. the begetting and rearing of members for the kingdom of God. For if marriage rest upon the idea of an absolute disposal of self by the one party to the other in love, with a view, first, to

^a Hence matrimonium from mater. Ehe=vinculum. See Grimm's Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, i. 417.

the mutual completion of their being, and then, as the noblest result of that, to the bringing forth and nurturing of citizens for God's heavenly kingdom, it follows, that every presupposal of the possibility of a dissolution would be a negation of that idea of an absolute union in love. Whatever may afterwards occur to impair the intimacy of the bond, must, when marriage is contemplated from the just point of view, be looked upon as a live-long task imposed for the exercise of love in patience. Hence the words of the Christian marriage service,—*till death shall part you*,—belong necessarily to the idea of this connection, and express a proviso without which it is degraded into a mere civil contract. How essentially, indeed, that proviso belongs to it, will be felt, if we will but for a moment represent to ourselves, in lively contrast, the mental frame of the man who enters into the connection, just as he would into any other compact formed by human will, and designed to be of a mere temporary duration, with the mental frame of him who brings along with him the conviction that none can sever it but God only, and that by death. Nay, in spirit, it even survives beyond, in proportion to the tenderness which characterized it on this side of the grave; on which persuasion it was that the Christian church uniformly regarded second marriages as questionable, and the Apostle requires that, at least, the superintendent of the churches should not enter twice into the conjugal state, 1 Tim. iii. 2.^a

^a Although Christianity expressly permits second marriages (1 Cor. vii. 39), it still results from the counsel which the

Whether the bond of fleshly copulation connect man and wife in any other way besides, we leave to be determined by the natural philosopher. It is a question belonging to our religious and moral physiology, and similar to the one, In how far incest, independent of all mental considerations, affects the physical nature? We shall only notice the remarkable fact, that the general life of the father may be fixed in the mother; at least the general life of the one party is capable of a transference to the other, as

Apostle here appends, ver. 40, from the ordinance, 1 Tim. iii. 2, 12; v. 9, and in general from the view it takes of widowhood, (comp. 1 Tim. v. 5), that to abstain from such marriages was looked upon as a point of perfection. At this more profound apprehension of the conjugal relation in Christianity, we need be the less surprised, discovering, as we do, the same among the ancient Germans and the Romans of the early time. On the tombstones of Roman matrons we find as a highly honourable epithet, *univira, uninupta*. The purity of feeling which guided Christians in this matter, may be learnt above all from Tertullian, a man who has conceived with quite peculiar depth and tenderness the matrimonial bond, although, at a subsequent period of his life, Montanism misled him to declare, in opposition to the express words of the Apostle, that to marry again was sinful. "In the second marriage," he says, among other remarks, "two wives surround the same man, the one in the spirit, the other in the flesh. For you cannot relinquish your affection for the first, but rather *must cherish towards her a holier love now that she is exalted beside the Lord*, and that your prayers are offered for her soul," &c. It is worth while, even with this view alone, to read his books, *Ad Uxorem, De Exhortatione Castitatis, De Monogamia*. Neander has extracted some passages to this effect in his *Antignosticus*, p. 244, 255.

may be particularly demonstrated in the lower spheres of the animal world. Neither shall we do more than mention, although doubtless there be truth in it, that other argument afforded by the philosophy of jurisprudence and ethics for monogamy and the indissolubility of wedlock, and which Kant and Fichte^a have brought forward, viz. That the absolutely passive relation into which the wife, both corporeally and spiritually, gives herself up by marriage (1 Cor. vii. 4), is consistent with her dignity as a human being, only on the supposition that the connection is undivided and indissoluble. Here we deem sufficient the grounds which have already been adduced for the indissolubility of marriage.^b

^a Kant. *Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Rechtslehre*, s. 107. Fichte, *Naturrecht*, s. 174. *Sittenlehre*, 444.

^b I shall only farther adduce the opinion of an esteemed physiologist of a recent date, who, on the one hand, has admirably conceived how the corporeal part in the conjugal relation is but the type of what ought to be realized in the spiritual sphere; and, on the other, establishes, upon a spiritual basis, the indissolubility of the matrimonial bond. Burdach, *Physiologie als Erfahrungswissenschaft*, 1830. Th. 3, s. 335. "The sexual union manifests the *living unity* of two organic beings in the idea of species. Now, if it be the idea of humanity to realize also on their spiritual side, those ideas which are but corporeally expressed on the lower stages of life, and to apprehend in the consciousness, and elevate to freedom, those impulses which stimulate the brute, the sexual union in the human race presupposes love to the *individual* of the other sex as well as to the *species*. But as love to the individual, when it is truly human, and rests upon the *intuition of unity* with the beloved object, is not *mutable* and *transitory*, like the sexual desire, but will evince its *origin in the infinite* by an *everlasting duration*, and employ itself in incessant deeds of well

It is only such a conception of the matrimonial union, which enables us to understand with what depth of inward truth, in the Old as well as the New Testament, the relation of God and of Christ his representative, to the church in general, and to the soul of the individual believer, is described as a conjugal one, and has been called by the Apostle Paul, Eph. v. 31, a *μυστήριον μέγα*. When even Socrates, in the *Symposion*, says of the *συνουσία*, "Ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο θεῖον τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν θνητῷ ὄντι τῷ ζῶν ἀθάνατον ἔνεστιν, ἡ κύησις καὶ ἡ γέννησις, and sets up Eros, sprung from riches as a father, and poverty as a mother, as the image of the true sage, who ever espousing himself to primeval beauty, breeds forth, what is fair and good, into this world of sense ; With how much more reason may *marriage* and *espousals*, considered in the light of Christian truth, be employed as an expression for that relation of devotedness and susceptibility in which the believing soul stands to the Saviour who governs and fructifies it, is by that Saviour treated with patience, healed of its infirmities, and

doing ; and as, on the other hand, love of the species demands a *continued co-operation* in rearing the individuals begotten, a *permanent* connection of the kind in marriage is necessary." How does the Christian doctrine, the deeper we explore nature and mind, evince itself to be uniformly the true and *most profound reason* ! Of this every one must be sensible in reference to what Christianity teaches upon the subject of marriage ; for while this institution, when regarded superficially, may appear the capricious ordinance of an ascetical rigorism, how does it, upon a deeper investigation, prove itself to be the bodying forth of a natural and moral relation in its deepest foundations !

filled with life and light; while it again subjects itself in silent obedience to him, grows assimilated to his glorious image, and outwardly accomplishes his will.

Now, inasmuch as such a conception of marriage could only spring upon the soil of Christianity, it ought not to raise our surprise if, beyond its precincts, we do not find the sacredness and indissolubility of the matrimonial bond everywhere acknowledged; although, certainly, even to the superficial observer, the connection presented many aspects which could not but restrain him from resigning it entirely to the mercy of caprice. We shall but cast a glance upon the two leading nations of antiquity.

That in the Grecian world, the sanctity of the conjugal tie hardly could be observed, may easily be presumed from the fact, that religion, instead of lending its aid, cast hinderances in the way. The adulterous Jove and the jealous Juno, the roguish Venus and the bantered Hephæstion,—these were the images of matrimony, which the world of gods presented to the Greeks. It is true that monogamy prevailed for political reasons; but no law restrained the husband from adultery or concubinage. On his side a divorce could be accomplished without further formality, than the mere dismissal or desertion of the wife: πέμπειν, ἐκπέμπειν, ἀποπέμπειν, ἀποπομπή^a and without

^a Later terms for the separation of the man from the wife, are ἀπολύειν in the gospels, 3 Esr. ix. 36; (used by Diodorus Siculus l. 12, c. 18, of the wife dismissing her husband); χωρίζεσθαι, διαζευχθῆναι and ἀφίεναι in Paul and Josephus; ἀπολάσσειν in Philo and Plutarch; ἐκβάλλειν, ἐξωθεῖν chiefly in Eccle-

incurring any other obligation than the mere repayment of her portion. The woman who desired a separation (*ἀπολείπειν τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀποστῆναι ἀνδρός*) required to appear personally before the Archon, and give in her complaint in writing, (*ἀπολείψεως γράμματα παρὰ τῷ Ἄρχοντι τίθεσθαι*).^a The early

siastical authors, although also in use before. See Cotelerius *Patres Apostolici*, i. p. 463.

^a We should expect to find the best information, as to the views which different nations entertained on the subject of marriage in Stäudlin's work, *Geschichte und Vorstellungen, von der Ehe*. Göttingen, 1826. It is, however, a singular circumstance, that as yet no reviewer has censured the superficialness, exceeding as it does all bounds, of the works which this author, who was a worthy character, published, latterly in such rapid succession. Not only the *Ethische Monographien*, but the *Geschichte der Philosophischen Sittenlehre, des Supernaturalismus und Rationalismus*, &c., are in so high a degree hasty compilations, on which no dependence can be placed, that one can scarcely conceive how he found sufficient courage to publish them. This applies least to the *Monographie ueber die Sittlichkeit des Schauspiels*, and most to that *ueber das Gewissen*. In carelessness of representation, they are much akin to the *Lectiones Antiquariæ* of Cælius Rhodiginus, who, indeed, in the *Notizen über die Ehe bey den Alten*, in the 28th book, c. 16, was his precursor; only that in the one the materials are drawn from original fountains, and combined with the author's own views, whereas in the other, they are taken at second-hand, and pervaded by no original reasoning. On the subject of marriage among the Greeks, Potter, Petitus and now likewise Wachsmuth may be compared. The latter in his *Hellen. Alterthumskunde*, ii. l. 171. makes, among others, the interesting observation, that the regard entertained for the wife is evinced by the position in which, when spoken of, she is placed. We usually say, "wife

Romans occupy a far loftier station of moral dignity, in a great many respects, and more especially in that of marriage. Although the tradition, that for the five first centuries after the building of the city, not a single case of separation betwixt man and wife took place,^a cannot be depended upon, still it is certain that the matrimonial bond was preserved among them with the utmost purity and faithfulness, as we stated above, p. 318, and ordinarily no second marriage was entered into. The simplicity of the ancient citizens in this respect, was still, in his days, expressed by Cato, when he said: "That he considered it more commendable to be a good husband, than a great senator."^b Moreover, the husband was not allowed to divorce his wife without assigning distinct reasons. From the time of Augustus, however, the sanctity of marriage ceased to be any longer respected. The words of Juvenal are well-known: *Fiunt octo mariti, Quinque per autumnos.*

and children," the Greek, "τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκες."—I have quoted several interesting passages from the ancients upon the subject of marriage, in the treatise upon Heathenism, in *Neander's Denkwürdigkeiten*, i. s. 181, to which the ideal Pythagorean notions which Jamblichus expresses in his *Vita Pythag.*, are still to be added. The history of marriage, and especially of divorce among the Romans, has found in Wächter an author who treats them with solidity. *Ueber die Ehescheidungen bey den Römern*, von Karl Wächter. Stuttgart 1822. The works which discuss these matters among the Jews are known, Selden, Buxtorf, &c.

^a Savigny in the *Abhandlungen der Berliner Academie* of 1814 and 1815.

^b Plutarch *Vita Catonis*, c. 20

And now, as regards the Hebrews, certain it is that at the commencement of their records, they possessed that saying, Gen. ii. 24, which describes in the most forcible terms, the intimacy of the nuptial bond. Nevertheless the Mosaic legislation on this point, evinces an unusual laxity. The views which were entertained of it, Christ himself strikingly intimates when (Mat. xix. 8,) he says: *Μωϋσῆς πρὸς τὴν σκληρὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν ἐπέτρεψεν ὑμῖν ἀπολύσαι τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν* upon which Jerome makes the pertinent note : Non discidium concedens, sed homicidium auferens. Compare Chrysostom on this text. As the Mosaic economy, in general, ordains not that which is permanent and archetypal, but, indulgent to the weakness of man, that which was meant to last but for a season and subserve the use of discipline, so is this here also the case. The Law of Moses permitting divorce, is to be found in Deut. xxiv. 1. Now much depends, and it is likewise required for the comprehension of our passage, upon our knowing what this law properly declares. The expression *ערוֹת דבר* has, from the most ancient times, been a subject of dispute. Even the Talmudists call it *שם משותף*, an ambiguous word. Several of the commentators, as for instance Drusius, Lightfoot and Gentilis^a believe that it signifies *whoredom*, and so here *adultery*, that the school of Schammai understood it in this sense, and that Jesus took the same view. So Gratz, Fritzsche and Meyer. Now, at all events, this is erroneous, as has

^a De Nupt. l. vi. c. 11.

been shewn by the learned Akoluth.^a It is impossible that Christ, if he had recognised no other ground of divorce, than that which Moses and part of the lawyers did, could have said, Matt. xix., that it was merely on account of their *σκληροκαρδία*, that Moses had been so indulgent. But just as little ought the signification of *ערוֹת דבר* to be so greatly relaxed, as Michaelis, in his *Mosaisches Recht*. ii. s. 250, has done, where he says, that all it expresses is: “If the man find she is not fair enough, or discover in her any defect.” The truth rather lies betwixt the two. As nakedness is something shameful, *ערוֹת*, even in its derivative signification, means *fæditas*, in which signification it appears, Deut. xxiii. 15; Is. xx. 4. If we examine the former of these texts more especially, we shall be convinced of the necessity of supposing something or other *exciting disgust*. The LXX. translate, *ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα*,^b and so also the Samaritan, the Syriac and Arabic versions; The Vulgate, *fæditas*. One restriction to the liberty of divorce, accordingly, con-

^a De aquis amaris, Lipsiæ, 1682, p. 220.

^b It may be questioned, what the meaning of *ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα* is. Origen, even in his early days, remarks on Matt. t. 14, ed. de la Rue, T. iii. p. 647, that perhaps the Jews, in order to shew that Moses had been as strict as Jesus, would maintain that it was the same as *μοιχεία*; but he replies, that it only meant *πᾶν ἀμάρτημα*. Salmasius also, De foen. Trap. p. 163, wishes to understand *πρᾶγμα* here, like the Latin *negotium*, of an *amour*, consequently *adultery*. But in that case the expression *εὐρίσκει ἐν αὐτῇ* would scarcely have been used. It is more credible that *ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα* in the LXX., either expresses the meaning of Schammai, (see p. 327), or is to be taken in the same sense as we put upon the Hebrew *ערוֹת דבר*.

sisted in its being permitted only in cases where something disgusting, and which hindered connubial intercourse, could be shewn. The other consisted in *the writing of divorcement* itself.^a The drawing up of this, prevented the husband from turning the wife to the door in every fit of passion, and then, afterwards perhaps, with equal levity, taking her back. By means of it, likewise, the wife was enabled to learn the causes of her dismissal; And, moreover, if we suppose that the art of writing was not generally known, the intervention of a Levite would be necessary, and thus, at least, the matter was protracted.

Now, in the days of our Saviour, the signification of the term **ערוֹת דבר** had become doubtful, and two schools of the scribes, that of Schammai and that of Hillel in particular, had fallen into a dispute upon the subject. It is true that the differences of these schools often concern the most miserable trifles,^b

^a The word *ἀποστάσιον* is likewise to be found in the language of Greek jurisprudence, in which *δίκη ἀποστασίου* signifies the process brought against the freedman, who does not fulfil his obligations towards the *manumissor*. Meier and Schöm. Att. Process, s. 473. In precisely the same way the Latin *repudium* is used for the letter of divorce. In other cases, nouns in *ιον* are generally the more modern forms for *ια*, Lobeck Phryn. s. 517. In Josephus, *γραμματεῖον ἀπολύσεως*. In later times we find also *τὸ διαζύγιον, τὸ διέσιον*. See Beveridge on the Canones Apost. in Can. i. c. 5. Among the Rabbins, **טג**, (hence the Talmudic Tract. Gittin derives its name,) **תירוכין, פיטורין** and **אגרת**, *letter*. See Tract. Gittin, c. 6, § 5.

^b Thus the school of Schammai says: "At dinner, after the hands have been washed and dried, the napkin must be

still, in every case where there is an antithesis between difficult and easy, the sterner decision is always on the side of Schammai; which is expressly mentioned. Thus a Caræan in Trigland *De Secta Caræorum*, p. 98, says, בית שמאי לעולם מחומרים, ובית הלל מקלים. The view taken by the school of Schammai was not, however, introduced into practice. The Halacha decided always for the Hillelites, and the principles of the Schammaites at last only survived among the Caræans.^a Now, it is generally supposed, that the Schammaite school understood by ערות דבר, *fornication*, but, as we said before, improperly, provided that word be taken in its more restricted sense. For they comprehended under it all which the Talmud designates as כעור in a woman. Thus the Jerusalem Gemara on the Tract. Gittin, informs us, that they included her going forth without a veil, or with torn garments, or bare arms, among the ערות דבר, which coincides with the explanation of Aben Ezra, “any thing indecent in act or word.” The circumstance that the Saviour here also opposes his ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω to the

laid upon the table.” “No,” says that of Hillel, “but upon the cushion on which you lie.” Schammai teaches: “After meat, the chamber must first be swept, and then the hands washed.” Hillel: “No. The hands must be washed first, and then the chamber swept.” There is much of the same kind in the Tract. Berachoth, c. 8. *Educated in such schools as these, how must a Paul have been transformed to become the man he was!*

^a Wolf Notit. Caræor, p. 98.

common construction of the law, justifies an *a priori* inference, that that party of the Scribes had declared themselves with less severity upon the subject. The Hillelites, on the contrary, taught that divorce was allowable upon account of any thing disagreeable whatsoever, and still farther went Akiba, who, in the same way as J. D. Michaelis, founding upon the first clause of the Mosaic law, declares any defect of comeliness in the eyes of the man to be a competent ground of separation. In what manner they were led to this lax exposition, appears from the Babylonish Gemara upon the 9th chapter of the Tr. Gitin. Here the *status constr.* is entirely overlooked, and the דבר ערות expounded, as if there stood disjunctively ערות או דבר, “some shameful thing *or* any thing at all;” a striking instance how not even the strictest rules of grammar can prevent the carnal mind from transferring its own sentiments into the holy Scripture. Now, it is true, that even down to our Saviour’s days there may have been many a fine specimen of conjugal fidelity among the Israelites. Take, for instance, Zacharias and his wife Elizabeth. In particular, a strong predilection was felt towards the first wife, her who had been espoused in youth; so that Ben Nachman, in the Babylonish Gemara to the Tr. Sanhedrin, c. 2, declares, לכל יש תמורה חוץ מאשת נעורים, “All things may be exchanged but the wife of one’s youth;” and other declarations to the same effect may be found in the same place. Ben Sira Sententiarum, 3, also says: גרמא דנפיל בחולקך גרדיה, “Scrape the bone that has fallen to thy lot,”

and exhorts, at the same time, to be contented with the wife we have obtained as our portion. On this point, however, the same lax practice gained the ascendancy as among the Mahometans, with whom we find, as formula of renunciation in divorce, “The roe for the cow,” *i. e.* a young and fair wife in place of the old.^a Even in the prophet Malachi ii. 10—16, we read a noble reproof, pronounced in the name of God, against inconsiderate separations between man and wife; comp. Pro. vi. 32. The Pharisees, who come forward speaking at Matt. xix. 3, ask, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife, *κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν*;^b Consonant is the fact, that in the Antiquit. iv. 8, 23. Josephus states the law of divorce in the following lax form: Γυναικὸς τῆς συνοικουμένης βουλόμενος διαζευχθῆναι, καθ’ ἧς δημοτοῦν αἰτίας· πολλαὶ δ’ ἂν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοιαῦται γίνοντο· γράμμασι μὲν κτλ. In like manner Philo de Leg. Special., p. 781, ed. Frankf.: Ἐὰν δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἀπαλλαγεῖσα γυνή καθ’ ἣν ἂν τύχη πρέφασιν κτλ. In his biography, Josephus relates, with perfect *sang froid*, that he dismissed his wife, after she had born him three children, *because her manners did not please him*. Under these circumstances, the conjecture acquires more and more verisimilitude, that, when it is here said without any limitation, “Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement,” this was the form

^a Specimen Proverb. Meidani, No. 78.

^b Constantine also, in the Cod. Theod. i. 1, de Repudiis, iii. 16, prohibits husbands from putting away their wives per *quascunque* occasiones.

under which the lawyers of the day were wont to inculcate the Mosaic commandment, *κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτιάν*.

The exposition of our text must be supplemented from Matt. xix., compared with Mark x. 11, 12; Luke xvi. 18; (Eph. v. 31.) As often happens elsewhere, so here too we have occasion to admire the profound insight of the Saviour into the Old Testament. There are many cases, and this is one, in which it would be impossible to select, from the whole Codex, a more apposite passage to the theme before him than Christ here does. He points to that passage of the Mosaic record, in which the intimate union of the two parties, by the connubial bond, is expressed in the forcible terms: *Καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν*, and then subjoins: "Ὡστε οὐκέτι εἰσὶ δύο, ἀλλὰ σὰρξ μία. Ὁ οὖν ὁ Θεὸς συνέζευξεν, ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωριζέτω."^a According to the words of Christ, therefore, a separation ought never to be brought about by any act of volition on the part of man, but by God alone, whose will is expressed in calling away either of the parties *by death*. Hence the words of the marriage service, "Until death shall part you." Comp. Rom. vii. 3; 1 Cor. vii. 39. In the case of all other unions, the parties become *εἰς μίαν καρδίαν καὶ ψυχὴν*; as is said, Acts iv. 32, of the first Christian community. The singularity of the present consists in this, that according to 1 Cor. vii. 4, they become *εἰς μίαν σάρκα*,

^a Chrysostom on Matt. xix: Παρὰ φύσιν τὸ γινόμενον, ὅτι μία διατέμενεται σὰρξ· παρὰ νόμον ὅτι τοῦ Θεοῦ συνάψοντος καὶ κελεύσαντος μὴ διαχωρίζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ συνεπιπτίθεισθε τοῦτο δεῖν. The *μία σὰρξ* is also well commented upon by Isidorus Pelusiot, l. iv. ep. 129, in the Treatise upon 1 Cor. vi. 18.

to which (Ecclesiasticus xxv. 26), Eph. v. 28, and 1 Cor. vi. 16, also point. This εἰς μίαν σάρκα γενέσθαι is realized to its fullest extent in the *children*, in whom the σάρξ of the father and that of mother are equally combined, and who thus represent the corporeal unity of the two.^a In virtue of this connection, accordingly, neither of them has any more the ἐξουσία over his own σῶμα, and hence in so far the absolute disposal of self on the part of the one to the other, (1 Cor. vii. 4). The man ought to love his wife: ὡς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα, Eph. v. 28.

Whoever, therefore, of his own accord, breaks a bond thus designed to be commensurate with the term of his life, and therewithal marries another, does an action which falls within the domain of adultery; barring only, as our Saviour here and at Matt. xix. adds, when one of the parties has been guilty of πορνεία. When that has happened, the guilty individual has, in point of fact, already executed a divorce, and formed a union with another spouse, (1 Cor. vi. 16). Theophylact on 1 Cor. vii. 13: ὁ πόρνος ἔφθασεν ἑαυτὸν διαστήσας. Nay more, supposing the strict execution of the Mosaic law, adultery amounted to a separation of the marriage bond *by death*, for at least the woman was capitally punished. The exception is not mentioned in Mark x. 11, nor at Luke xvi. 18, which yet, however, just like 1 Cor. vii. 10, is to be looked upon as a mere abbreviation of the commandment, and to be explained

^a It is a beautiful sentiment which Jamblichus ascribes to Pythagoras, (Vita Pith. c. 9,) viz. That men ought to reflect: ὡς τῶν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους συνθηκῶν τιθεμένων ἐν γραμματιδίαις καὶ στήλαις, τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν τοῖς τέκνοις.

according to the hermeneutical rule: *Pauciora exponi debent per plura*. So, to state one example, Luke, xii. 10, says: *Τῷ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα βλασφημήσαντι οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται*; Mark adds, *εἰς αἰῶνα*, while Matthew, in this case too the fullest of all, superadds c. xii. 32: *οὔτε ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι*. More instances of the same kind might be quoted.

We have still, however, to examine more closely the exception specified by Christ, viz. *παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας*,^a and then the statement he makes, which is so important for the right comprehension of the whole precept, viz. *That a practical separation betwixt man and wife is first effected in and through a second marriage*.

First, we have to investigate the meaning of *πορνεία*, and then of *παρεκτός λόγου*. That *πορνεία* may also denote the *μοιχεία*, has been expressly contested by Dr. Paulus, who holds that it only means extramarital fornication, and that Christ here speaks of such as preceded marriage, inasmuch as he but repeats the Mosaic commandment, Deut. xxii. 13. This view, when first broached, met with much approbation, and as we shall afterwards mention, was in particular adopted by Gratz. It can, however, in no wise be vindicated. As so special a reference of *πορνεία* is not so much as indicated by the text, we could only be justified in adopting it, provided the

^a At Matt. xix. 9, the *εἰ*, which the authority of Erasmus and Beza served to spread, must be banished from the text, and according to the best evidences, *μη ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ* to be read, as Matthæi, Knapp, Griesbach and others. While, on the contrary, Lachman, following the western Codd. and that of Cambridge, inserts *παρεκτός*.

usus loquendi forbid us to take the word in the sense of *μοιχεία*. That *πορνεία*, however, as the genus comprehends the species *μοιχεία*, may both be presupposed independent of all positive evidence, and is actually the case in all languages. Thus, the Arabic version has here a word signifying whoredom for *μοιχεία*. In Plautus and Cicero, we find *stuprum* in place of *adulterium*. Hesychius and the Etym. Mag. explain *μοιχός* by *ὁ πόρνος*. In the Hellenistic, compare Ecclesiasticus xxiii. 23; Hos. iii. 3, conf. v. 1; Am. vii. 17; Joh. viii. 41; 1 Cor. vi. 1, comp. Suicer, s. h. v.^a That, at any rate, the *πορνεία* must here include the *μοιχεία*, cannot accordingly be questioned. It might deserve consideration, whether it means that exclusively, or is of such extensive latitude as to embrace the *ἀσέλγεια*. Why has Matthew, it may be said, both here and at the parallel passage, xix. 9, mentioned the *πορνεία* and not the *μοιχεία*, unless our Saviour himself originally used a more comprehensive expression, and consequently did not mean to represent adultery as the sole ground of separation? Now certainly *πορνεία* occurs, Tob. viii. 7, so as that it signifies *ἐπιθυμία* in general; compare Hos. iv. 10. Suidas states, that it likewise stands for *ἡ ἀκολασία*. Theophylact says upon *πορνεία* at Rom. i. 29: *πᾶσαν ἀπλῶς τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν τῷ τῆς πορνείας ὀνόματι περιέλαβεν*, and on 1 Thes. iv. 3, where the apostle warns *ἀπὸ πάσης πορνείας*, Theodoret declares: *ὅτι πολλὰ τῆς*

^a Matt. xix. 9: The Syriac version has, *whosoever putteth away his wife without her being an adulteress*; and the Ethiopic, *except on account of adultery*.

ἀκολασίας εἶδη. Still, however, all this will not suffice to enlarge the idea of πορνεία in the present passage. For, inasmuch as it always includes the συνουσία—Theodoret, on Rom. i. 29, expounds it more generally, ἡ οὐ κατὰ γάμον συνουσία,—and can in no wise be applied *merely* to a wanton behaviour, there still results, from the connection in which it here stands, the meaning of μοιχεία. Still less has Selden succeeded in proving that it means *worthlessness* in general.^a The selection made by our Saviour of the more general term, is in both cases perfectly justified by the *object* he has in view. He means to specify the *kind* of transgressions which alone justify a matrimonial separation. By no other genus of sins is the marriage bond *de facto* dissolved. The generic name was here, therefore, the most apposite.

It now only remains to illustrate the παρεκτός λόγου. That it is redundant, as Schwarz ad Olearii de Stylo, N. T. p. 270, Gratz and others imagined, is to be supposed even less in this than in the other passages which Schleusner has adduced as vouchers of its being so. There is a question, however, whether λόγος may not have the sense of *matter*. So Haksplanus, Notæ miscel. iii. p. 31, and, agreeing with him, Wolf and some others, whose object in so doing, is to enlarge the sense of πορνεία, so that it shall be equivalent to πράγμα τι πορνικόν or αἰσχρουργία τις. It may be said, that if λόγος were here synonymous with αἰτία, it ought rather to have been παρεκτός ἐπὶ λόγου, or παρεκτός ἐν ῥήματι, as in 1 Kings xv. 5, where we read :

^a Uxor. Hebræorum, l. iii. c. 23.

οὐκ ἐξέκλινεν Δαυὶδ...ἐκτὸς ἐν ῥήματι Οὐβρίου, or ἐν ὀνόματι. Still, however, the difference between these expressions merely is, that in the one case, we should have to translate, "save upon the ground of fornication," and in the other, "save the ground of fornication." But the latter may stand equally well with the former. At chap. xix. 3, the Pharisees ask whether a separation may take place, κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν, and here the Saviour declares that it ought never to be made παραεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας; hence λόγος, like 𐤇𐤃𐤇 means primarily *the cause*, as in Acts x. 29, then, in like manner as αἰτία, and the Latin *causa*, the *ground of accusation*, or the *accusation itself*, Ex. xviii. 16; xxii. 8. So likewise in classical Greek, ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ, and ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις. Even, however, were λόγος here to mean the same as πρᾶγμα, still it could not be conceded that πρᾶγμα πορνικόν amounted to nothing more than ἄσχημόν τι, or αἰσχρόν τι, and might be understood of every sort of wantonness. If Salmasius, as we observed above, p. 325, insists upon interpreting even the πρᾶγμα ἄσχημον in Deut. xxiv. 1, *turpe negotium*, an *adulterous act*, much more indubitably must πρᾶγμα πορνικόν be so understood. We have to add, that πορνεία at Matt. xix. 9, stands absolutely, without any definition to extend it. Moreover, all older translations have expressed λόγος by *cause*.^a

^a Those interpreters who have here explained λόγος by *proportion*, "save for somewhat proportional to adultery," have much too manifestly disclosed the *inferre quod placuit enarratori*, instead of the *effere quod placuit auctori*, to deserve any further attention.

Having thus fixed the meaning of the exception, we now turn to consider the peculiar form under which the Saviour has delivered the precept. He does not say: ὅστις ἀπολύει τὴν γαμετὴν αὐτοῦ παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας, ἥδη ἐμοίχευσε. Mere separation (διαχωρισμός) is not declared as falling within the precincts of adultery, but only *remarriage*. Here, and at Matt. xix. 9, we read, “ Whosoever shall put away his wife, and shall marry another, so likewise at Mark x. 11, where the same thing is also specified in regard to the woman.^a Moreover, it is here declared, “ that

^a In this passage of Mark there can exist no doubt that the ἐπ’ αὐτήν refers to the second, and not to the first spouse. This results from all the texts upon the same subject, in which the Saviour uniformly expresses himself in such a way as represents a second matrimonial union, in a person unlawfully divorced, as coming within the domain of adultery. The syntax of μοιχᾶσθαι with ἐπί is justified by the Hebrew לָא יִהְיֶה, which the LXX. render by ἐκπορνύειν ἐπί and εἰς, Ez. xvi. 26; Numb. xxv. i. Now, inasmuch as it is there also said of the woman: ἐὰν γυνὴ ἀπολύσῃ τὸν ἄνδρα, μοιχᾶται (ἐπ’ αὐτόν), doubts have been raised, seeing that, among the Jews, the wife had no liberty to separate from the husband, but merely among the Greeks and later Romans. On this very ground, and without the support of any external evidence, Fritzsche has even banished the whole sentence from the text. But the saying is sufficiently vindicated by the mere supposal, that it was Christ’s intention, in giving prominence to the fact, that the same thing holds in regard to the other party, to express more forcibly the idea of the inviolability of the marriage bond. It must likewise, however, be said, that among the Jews, at least in after times, sundry cases of the sort are to be found, and that subsequently upon the propagation of Christianity among the heathen, these must have

even she, if she marry again, breaks the marriage tie, for she is still bound, although the blame of it rests upon the husband," which is the import of *ποιεῖ ἄτῆν μοιχᾶσθαι*. Finally, both here and in chap. xix. it is said, "whoso marrieth her which is put away, doth commit adultery." It being thus then averred, that in the Divine judgment—which is what we must always in the first instance think of—it is not by separation, but by marrying again, that the guilt of *μοιχεία* is incurred, and the case of adultery being in this precept excepted, we cannot rationally draw any other conclusion, but that when adultery has taken place, a second marriage may lawfully be entered into, which, as we shall afterwards see, the Romish church contests. When Christ, xix. 9, says: ὅς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλην, μοιχᾶται, is it not a *necessary* inference: ὅς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ λόγῳ πορνείας, οὐ μοιχᾶται? On that head, it is impossible to conceive what dispute there can be. There are good grounds, however, for saying, that what Christ has here *permitted*, he has not *recommended as best* to be done. The subject is much involved in the question, What ought to be the *punishment* of adultery? Among the Hebrews, and by the law of Constantine, *death* was appointed for the adulteress and the partner of her

recurred. Hence Paul enforces as a *command of the Lord*, 1 Cor. vii. 10: γυναῖκα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς μὴ χωρισθῆναι, and, v. 13, of a believing wife in reference to an unbelieving husband, says: μὴ ἀφίετω αὐτόν. Comp. Storr's Observ. on Mark v. 12, Opusc. iii. 206, and Grotius in h. 1.

crime. The same law continued in force in most of the German states against *both* of the criminal parties, or at least against the *man*. The whole of the reformers contend with all their zeal for the capital punishment of adulterer and adulteress. In this way, they say, the hard question regarding what ought to be ordained relative to second marriages is got rid of. On the other hand, from a very early period, many raised their voices in the church for endeavouring to lead the fallen party, whether male or female, to repentance, with a view towards a future reunion; a plan in favour of which Luther, in one passage, declares himself. Hence, in the ancient church, as also in the modern evangelical, excommunication for a term of years—sometimes also, we must allow, for life—was adjudged for the transgressor; during which interval, opportunity was given him within the walls of a monastery, to look into himself and awaken to a sense of his sin. If the punishment attained its end, the innocent party was then required, at least by many, to be reconciled to the guilty one, with a more special reference to the conduct of our Saviour towards the penitent adulteress, John viii. Now, doubtless, it must be confessed, this mode of procedure is the most accordant with the spirit of the gospel, and, for carrying it into practice, painfully does the Protestant church feel the want of ecclesiastical houses of correction, whose place in Catholic countries was supplied by the monasteries. What a miserable substitute for it, in cases where capital punishment was not inflicted, was *bannishment*! Accordingly, it is only from indulgence

to human weakness, and, at the same time, from a consideration that the offender may possibly persevere in stubborn impenitence, that liberty to marry again is given to the innocent party, divorced on the ground of adultery. In this concession, however, the guilty individual can have no interest, for if his innocent partner be willing to take him back, and he continue impenitent, he, of his own accord, excludes himself from the blessing of the marriage bond. In the case, again, of his penitence, and the other party refusing to take him back, it is proper that he should bear, even all his life-long, the punishment which he has brought upon his own head.^a

^a In the early days of Christianity, the punishment of adultery was exclusion from the church for the term of seven years, or, according to more rigid maxims, for life. When monasteries came to be erected, females guilty of the crime were confined in them. Among the Germanic tribes, who had so fine a sense of the tenderness of the conjugal relation, as indeed for morality in general, the more severe views respecting the treatment of adultery, obtained the ascendancy. The departments of Saxony and Swabia adjudge death for offenders, both male and female; that of Bamberg for the former only. Luther and Melancthon sternly call for the death of the guilty party, whether man or woman. In the short form of the ten commandments (of the year 1520,) in Walch Th. x. s. 723, Luther answers the question, What is to be done with the adulteress, who has been put away, when she cannot preserve her chastity? as follows: "God has commanded in the law, that the adulterer be stoned, in order that there might be no room for such a question. Therefore ought the civil sword and the magistracy still to slay those guilty of the crime.....Where the magistracy, however,

We must still take into consideration the expository remarks made in the letters of Paul. At 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11, he lays down the commandment of the Lord, expressly designating it as such, in the form in which we find it at Mark x. 11, 12, without noticing the

is slow and negligent, and does not put to death, the adulterer may make off into some other distant land, and there marry, if he cannot contain. But death, death is the best thing for him, that the bad example may be counteracted." Again, however, in the Treatise on things Matrimonial (of the year 1530,) in Walch, Th. x. 949, he kindly and affectionately exhorts to receive back the adulteress if penitent. Melancthon, in the Commentary, and in the Loci. Theol., likewise calls for death or perpetual banishment. Calvin and Bucer make manifold complaints of the magistracy for not capitally punishing adulterers; and Beza, in his Treatise De divortiiis et repudiis, (Opusc. Theol. ii. p. 89), relates with satisfaction that the burgesses of Geneva had at last, *communi suffragio*, declared death to be the punishment of the crime. Many of the provincial laws of Protestant countries likewise award death for transgressors of both sexes. So e. g. the Saxon police-ordinance of the Elector Moritz in 1542, and of Augustus in 1572, and so likewise that of Mecklenburg of the same date as the latter. What a glaring contrast with this severity do our later provincial laws present, which, in place of death or perpetual penance in a monastery, impose the fine of a few hundred franks, or, according to the Prussian code, confinement for six weeks upon the adulterer, and for three to six months upon the adulteress! It is not the compassionate charity inculcated by the gospel which is expressed in this abatement of the penalty, but indifference to the crime; and if it be impossible in legislation, to harmonize compassion for the sinner with the demands of justice, far better than such indifference would be the iron sceptre of our forefathers.

exception mentioned above at p. 332. Now, here it strikes us as singular, that at verse 11 he presupposes, in a parenthesis, that there might be women who had separated from their husbands, and that, not on the score of adultery ; for this is involved in the fact, that the woman is spoken of as the person making the separation (the passive aorist $\chi\omega\tilde{\nu}\iota\sigma\theta\tilde{\eta}$ in a medial signification), and that she is called upon to take the first step towards a reunion with the man. It is still more surprising, that on the condition of her remaining unmarried, the Apostle permits a state of separation. This ceases, however, to appear strange, after we have seen that the Saviour uniformly regards the act of marrying again as the only proper divorce, and hence the permission of a temporary, and, according to circumstances, prolonged separation, does not contravene the command of Christ, so long as no new matrimonial engagement is formed.^a But ver. 15 and 16 determine something new, viz. that in mixed marriages, if the unbelieving husband be not pleased to dwell with the wife ($\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu\ \mu\epsilon\tau'\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$),^b she is no

^a This is an indulgence towards a *de facto* anomalous state. Just as the same Apostle has forbidden women to speak in the church, and yet lays down rules for their behaviour when they do so.

^b Among the classics $\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu$ comprehends the whole conubial life. Among later authors $\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ =Matrimonium, Cotelarius, Patres Apost. i. p. 463. The malicious desertion of the wife, which is here spoken of, the classics denote by the term $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$, otherwise only used of separation on the part of the wife, and which is then different from $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$.

farther under bondage (οὐ δεδούλωται). Now, here much depends on the sense of δεδούλωται, viz. whether it express merely that the wife is not bound to follow and press herself upon the husband, or that the vinculum matrimonii is dissolved. If we consider the use of the Rabbinical **רבע** in the Jewish contracts of marriage, and the **δέδεσται** in the 39th verse of this chapter, which is expressly contrasted with **ἐλευθέρα ἔστιν, ᾧ θέλει γαμηθῆναι**, as also that the Apostle does not, as at ver. 11, append a **μένετω ἄγαμος**, which might have been equally expected, supposing him to recommend a mere external separation, all this leads us to suppose that **οὐ δεδούλωται** signifies the dissolution of the vinculum matrimonii.^a That the Apostle, by so doing, has gone beyond the commandment of Christ, and added another exception to that of the

Plutarch, Stoic. Controv. p. 213. Wyt.: ὡσπερί τις τὴν γαμετὴν ἀπολιπὼν ἑταίρα δὲ συζῶν. Lucian, Bis accus. p. 233, ed. Amst.: ὅς τὴν μὲν νόμῳ γαμετὴν οὕτως ἀτίμως ἀπέλιπε. Conf. Küster ad Aristoph. Plut. v. 1033.

^a Bengel otherwise: Sed cum exceptione illa, *maneat extra conjugium*. So likewise does Flatt expound, both in his Commentary on this text, and likewise, more especially, in his *Moral*, p. 583. He there explains the **οὐ δεδούλωται**: He is not a slave: He needs not submit to every every thing in order to hinder a separation. Very few Protestant interpreters share this opinion. Among these it has been delivered in the evening entertainments of the exiled French Protestants, entitled, *Vesperæ Groningianæ* (1718), p. 220. Comp. also Wolf's *Curæ* in h. l.

πορνεία, we cannot say. Our Saviour speaks of how his disciple is to conduct himself in regard to divorce. Here the subject of the Apostle is the act of an unbeliever, and how, when he has dissolved the bond, the believing party ought to behave. Now, although the Apostle declares the conjugal tie in such cases to be loosed, in like manner as is done by Christ, it will still be a question, both in the one case and the other, in how far it becomes a Christian to take advantage of the leave to marry again. As to what the civil law ought to ordain in this respect we shall not here determine. The law of conscience, however, might well sanction the step only in two cases. 1. When the party, breaking the connection, renders the separation final, by a second marriage. 2. When a conviction subsists, in as far as man can be convinced, that the party who has been wrongfully abandoned will not be able to move the other to a change of mind or a return to duty. The annexed clause *ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ κτλ.*, calls to mature and conscientious deliberation, and still more the reason adduced in v. 16: *τί γὰρ οἶδας, γύναι, εἰ τὸν ἄνδρα σώσεις;* “ True it is—the Apostle means to say—the conversion of thy partner does not lie with thee. Still do not despair of it too soon, but, as it is the property of true love *πάντα πιστεύειν, πάντα ἐλπίζειν*, (1 Cor. xiii. 7.) wait and hope as long as is possible.”^a

^a In the exposition of *τί γὰρ οἶδας*, we find an extraordinary division among the interpreters. While almost all take the question in the sense; “ For knowest thou, O wife, whether

There is still a point to be considered, which makes the indulgence of the Apostle in this case still

you *may not* convert thy husband," and so likewise translate, Luther has done so without a negation: "For what knowest thou, whether thou shalt save," according to which Bengel and Semler expound both: "As his conversion is a matter of so much uncertainty, insist not upon the permanence of the bond." It is obvious how important it must be to decide betwixt these two directly opposite views. The connection of the *τί γάρ* with the *ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ*, certainly speaks for the former, but partly the *ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ* might be understood as assigning a motive for the separation (so e. g. Calixt ad h. l.) and partly might the *τί γάρ* be referred to what does not immediately precede. The language accordingly must determine. Is then the clause "For what knowest thou, whether thou shalt save," calculated to raise or depress hope? In German, obviously the latter. Were hope meant to be awakened, we should require the negation. This feeling has induced many among us, as e. g. Krause, to resort again to a construction which is traced back to Severianus, and which borrows here the *εἰ μή* from v. 17; *εἰ σώσεις, εἰ μή*. Whether in Greek the question admits of an affirmative answer, has not been investigated. It however does so; the indubitable proof of which we have in the elegaic fragment of Euripides so often quoted: *τίς οἶδεν, εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἴστί καταθανεῖν, τὸ καταθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν*; Undoubtedly Euripides is disposed to the affirmative, and thereupon is grounded the parody of this, not Hellenistic sentence, by Aristophanes in the *Ranæ*. See Küster on Suidas s. v. *τίς οἶδεν* and Conz and Bergler on Aristoph. *Ranæ*, v. 1514. Nay, even *οὐκ οἶδα εἰ*, which usually corresponds not with the Latin *haud scio an*, but with the *vereor ut*, leaves sometimes at least the matter altogether undetermined, so that it might happen. See Elmsley on *Medea*, v. 911, ed. Lips. p. 239, and Borneman on *Xenophon Conviv.* viii. § 9. In

more easy to be explained. We may presume with certainty, as by far the majority in the ancient church did, that he regarded marriage with an unbeliever as a thing unlawful, which is expressed by the *μόνον ἐν κυρίῳ* of v. 39, and that hence the persons here addressed are such as, before their conversion, were already united to heathen spouses. Theodoret very justly says, that the transition which is made at v. 17, "according to the state in which God hath called every one, so let him walk," presupposes this. Marriage with a heathen, altogether prevented the Christian party from realizing the right idea of the connection, (Comp. Tertullian.) How, for instance, could the education of the children be attended to in such a union? In one sole case could this relation be justified, viz. When the party not Christian persevered in manifesting love and esteem for the party that was, and by so doing, afforded hopes of his own conversion. On the other hand, however, if that party came to a complete rupture with his believing spouse, studiously avoided all sort of intercourse, at last even entered into a new connexion, how, in such circumstances, could the hope alluded to possibly survive? Compare the far harsher procedure of Ezra's with respect to heathen marriages, Ezra c. x.

Passing now to the history of the exposition of

Hebrew the question *מי יודע אם* and *מי יודע*, is always more affirmative, Esth. iv. 14, 2 Sam. xii. 22, Joel ii. 14, and so also in English, when we ask, Who knows but he may come? we mean, I think he may still come.

those passages which refer to this subject, and in as far as they are connected with it, of the doctrinal maxims, relative to separation betwixt man and wife, we have first to cast our eyes upon the period which preceded the establishment of the creed and practice of the Roman Catholic church. The first ecclesiastical fathers, even in their early days, are divided in opinion with respect to two exegetical questions. 1. What are the grounds which justify a separation betwixt married parties? and, 2dly, which we have already premised above, Whether the prohibition of a second marriage affects the innocent party in case of a separation on the score of adultery? Consequently, whether in general there be any other thing but death which can break a marriage? In singular perplexity, Origen, (in Matth. t. 14,) expresses his astonishment at the fact that, and at the cause why, Christ has assigned fornication as the only competent ground of a separation; poisoning, infanticide, and secret robbery on the part of the man, being not less heinous crimes. On either side, he says, I behold difficulties; for while, on the one hand, such transgressions appear to be worse than adultery itself, still it is ἀσεβές to act contrary to the βούλημα τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ Σωτῆρος. Hence he had often reflected, why the Saviour had not expressly forbidden: μηδεὶς ἀπολύετω τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας, but merely expresses himself to the effect, that whosoever putteth away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, exposeth her to the danger

of committing adultery. Others endeavoured to give latitude to the exception, in a different way, by referring *πορνεία*, in a spiritual sense, to *idolatry*. So Hermas in his day, who says:^a Non solum moechatio est illis, qui carnem suam coinquant, sed et is, qui simulachrum facit, moechatur; and so afterwards above all Augustine, till at last this construction became the prevailing one in the Latin church. In the Decretum Gratiani, ii. Caus. 28, Quæs. 1, it is expressly said: Moechia est duplex, videlicet spiritalis et carnalis. When once *πορνεία* was thus taken in a sense different from the proper one, it followed quite naturally, that avarice should also be regarded as a ground for divorce, for that in Col. iii. 5, is likewise called *εἰδωλολατρεία*, nay at last, as he farther infers: Omnino quaslibet illicitas concupiscentias, quæ animam corpore male utentem a Lege Dei aberrare faciunt et perniciose turpiterque corrumpi.^b Epiphanius specifies a variety:^c Ὁ μὴ δυνηθεὶς τῇ μιᾷ ἀρχεθῆναι τελευτησάσῃ, ἕνεκέν τινος προφάσεως, πορνείας, ἢ μοιχείας, ἢ κακῆς αἰτίας χωρισμοῦ γενομένου, συναφθέντα δευτέρῃ γυναικὶ ἢ γυνὴ δευτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ, οὐκ αἰτιᾶται ὁ θεὸς λόγος. The majority of the fathers of the church, however, understand under *πορνεία* no-

^a Pastor l. ii. c. 4.

^b In the *Retract.* i. c. 19, he, nevertheless, says, *Nec volo in re tanta tamque ad dignoscendum difficili putare lectorem istam sibi nostram disputationem debere sufficere, sed legat et alia, etc.*

^c Hæres, lix. n. 4.

thing else but actual adultery; and hence only in case of that, allow a separation between man and wife. So Clemens Alexr. Strom. l. ii. p. 506, Hilary on our text, Chrysostom here, and on Mat. xix., Isidorus Pelusiota, who, as was already observed above, endeavours, l. iv. ep. 129, to show from 1 Cor. vi. why fornication is the only valid ground of separation.

With respect to the second point, we find in the ancient church a twofold view as to how adultery ought to be treated. The one, which is the more severe, considers it as a sin so odious, that the innocent party, according to some, had the power, according to others was even bound, to put away the guilty, and hence acquired also the liberty of entering into a new engagement. The Ambrosiaster speaks most strongly to this effect, observing upon 1 Cor. vii. 15: *Non est servituti subjectus frater aut soror in hujusmodi. Si Esdras dimitti fecit uxores aut viros infideles, ut propitius fieret Deus, nec iratus esset, si alias ex suo genere acciperent, (non enim ita præceptum his est, ut remissis istis alias minime ducebant), quanto magis, si infidelis discesserit, liberum habebit arbitrium, si voluerit, nubere legis suæ viro? Contumelia enim Creatoris solvit jus matrimonii circa eum, qui relinquitur, ne accusetur alii copulatus, infidelis autem discedens et in Deum et in matrimonium peccare dignoscitur.* In the passage above quoted, Epiphanius at least concedes permission to remarry. In equally strong terms as the Ambrosiaster, do the Apostolical Constitutions, l. vi. c. 15,

speak upon the point, saying with allusion to Prov. xviii. 22: *Ὁ κατέχων τὴν παραφθορεῖσαν, φύσεως θέσμου παράνομος.* Basil, ep. 199. canon 21, requires of the wife to take back, unconditionally, her adulterous husband, but that, when guilty herself, she shall remain for ever separated, and adds: *Καὶ τούτων δὲ ὁ λόγος οὐ ῥάδιος, ἤδὲ συνήθεια οὕτω κεκράτηκε.* In fine, Theodoret likewise declares himself decidedly for the permissibility of a second marriage;^a and consonant in general is the practice of the Greek church down to the present times.

On the other hand, Hermas, in his day, requires that the adulterous wife, as soon as she has done penance, shall be received back again, appending nevertheless this restriction: *Sed non sæpe, servis enim Dei pœnitentia una est.* Above all, must Tertullian, from the particular opinions which he latterly entertained, have been opposed to a person divorced entering into a second marriage, for, as we have seen, p. 318, he looked upon every engagement of this kind, even when death had broken the first, as altogether improper. Compare *De Monogamia*, c. 9, 10, different l. iv. adv. Marcionem, c. 34. According to Origen also, in the passage quoted, we must believe that a second union on the part of a person divorced was, in his days, at least not customary, inasmuch as he only relates, with respect to certain overseers of the church, that they had, for good reasons, although in contradiction to Rom. vii. 2, and 1 Cor. vii. 39, permitted women to marry again during the

^a *De Curat. Græc. aff. l. ix. Tom. iv. ed. Hal. p. 944.*

life of their former husbands.^a Augustine's opinion was of peculiar influence in this matter. In the book *De fide et Operibus* (of the year 419), c. 19, he, indeed, says: *Et in ipsis divinis sententiis ita obscurum est, utrum et iste, cui quidem sine dubio adulteram licet dimittere, adulter tamen habeatur, si alteram duxerit, ut, quantum existimo, venialiter ibi quisque fallatur.* But notwithstanding of this, even in the exposition of the sermon on the Mount, of the year 393, and still more decidedly in the book *De Conjugiis Adulterinis*, written in 419, in reply to Pollentius' Questions on 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11, tom. vi. ed. Bened., he delivers himself, although still with great hesitation, to the effect that the innocent party ought equally to continue single and await the repentance of the guilty one: "For truly none would entail upon himself either harm or disgrace by uniting afresh with such an adulteress as she to whom Christ said, Neither do I condemn thee; go, and sin no more." To the question, Why then has Christ appended the *excepta causa fornicationis*? he thus replies, *Credo, quia illud quod majus erat, hoc dominus commemorare voluit. Majus enim adulterium esse quis negat, uxore non fornicante dimissa alteram ducere, quam si fornicantem quisque dimiserit et tunc alteram duxerit? Non quia et hoc adulterium non est, sed quia minus est, ubi fornicante dimissa altera ducitur.* He appeals to James iv. 17, where it is written: "To him that knoweth to do good and

^a Erasmus, however, in his Com. on 1 Cor. vii. understands Origen as only speaking of cases exceptive of adultery.

doeth it not, it is sin;" while even to him who is culpably ignorant of, and fails to do it, it is also sin, only that in the first case, the sin is more aggravated. Compare the book written at the same date, *De Nuptiis et Concupisc.*, where, l. i. c. 10, he says, among other things: *Usque adeo manent inter viventes semel inita jura nuptiarum, ut potius sint inter se conjuges, qui ab alterutro separati sunt, quam cum his, quibus aliis adhæserunt.*^a Similar are the principles of Jerome, *e. g.* ep. xlvi. ad Pammachium, c. 5, with which let what he says respecting the then much spoken of Fabiola be compared.^b

While the church endeavoured in this way to hallow more and more the marriage bond, carrying its decisions beyond the results of holy writ itself, the Roman civil laws, even under the Christian emperors, still continued extremely lax. Nor indeed could any thing else have been expected, when we consider the license which previously prevailed among the heathen, and reflect upon the number of them who,

^a Notwithstanding, however, Augustine in reference to the principles enunciated in the letters to Pollentius, afterwards observes in the *Retract.* ii. c. 57: *Scripti duos libros de conj. adult. quantum potui secundum scripturas cupiens solvere difficillimam quæstionem. Quod utrum enodatissime fecerim, nescio, immo vero non me pervenisse ad hujus rei perfectionem sentio, quamvis multos sinus aperuerim.*

^b Of the passages of the Patres upon this subject, we have no where a complete collection or solid examination. Besides Cotelerius on *Hermas*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Bingham's *Origines Eccl.* and Steph. Morinus (*Dissertationes octo*, Dordr. 1700), diss. vi. de *divortiis*, there is also to compare an interesting discursus of Erasmus on 1 Cor. vii

at the period, were still subjects of the empire. Generally speaking, indeed, the laws passed under the first Christian emperors upon the subject of marriage, are strongly tinged with the colours of gentilism in other respects, for instance, the adulterous husband is liable to punishment only in certain cases (in the case of the *stuprum* in the strict Roman sense), whereas when the wife committed the crime, she (and on the complaint of the husband, likewise the partner of her guilt) was put to death.^a Separations, by mutual consent, (*communi consensu*) were permitted without any restriction up to the time of Justin, whereas Constantine was the first who imposed a definite bar to a separation at the instance of but one of the parties, such as had already obtained in ancient Rome. *Exquisitæ causæ*, farfetched reasons of divorce were forbidden. On the part of the woman, it was sufficient if the man were, 1, *Homicida*; 2. *Medicamentarius* (poison-mixer); 3. *Sepulchorum dissolutor*. On the part of the man that the woman was, 1. *Adultera*; 2. *Medicamentaria*; 3. *Conciliatrix* (procuress).^b

^a In the church, according to the opinion of Augustine, the guilt of the man, as the stronger party, was considered as still more aggravated in a case of adultery. *Decret. Grat. ii. Causa 32, Quæst. 6.* The influence of Christianity upon legislation, is particularly apparent in the quite opposite punishment it prescribed for unnatural lust; for whose odiousness it is strange to see how blunt was the sense of the ancient gentile world. Valentinian ordained for it death by fire, which continued in the German law down to the commencement of the last century.

^b *Codex Theodos. lib. i. de repudiis, iii. 36.*

Thus the man was still at liberty to commit adultery. After sundry vacillations of the law upon the subject, Theodosius defined fourteen grounds of separation for both man and wife. The ordinances of Justinian, as they could not be stated without prolixity, we pass in silence.

We now proceed to consider, with an eye to the exposition of our text, the maxims of the Romish church, as these are expressed in the decret. Gratiani, in the Concil. Trident., Sess. 24, c. 17, in Bellarmine de Matrimonio, &c. ; in opposition to which, the disputations in Chemnitz, Examen Conc. Trid. P. ii. can. 7, and Gerhard, Tom. xvi. are to be compared. The fundamental principle of this church is the absolute indissolubility of matrimony *quod vinculum* until the death of either party. While the Greek church assigns *two* causes of separation *θάνατος και μοιχεία*, the Romish church admits only the first. We have seen how, under multifarious modifications, this principle spread itself in the first centuries. On the other hand again, the matrimonial bond was relaxed, inasmuch as a separation *quoad thorum et mensam* was allowed on many other grounds besides adultery. Let us now inquire, first, what can be said *exegetically* in favour of this view. Its broadest basis is the general declarations of the Apostle, Rom. vii. 2 ; 1 Cor. vii. 39. But that these two texts are not conclusive, results, on the one hand, from the fact that the Apostle himself, at 1 Cor. vii. 15, and the Saviour, in the passages which we have quoted, specify certain exceptions, in which the wife is not bound to the hus-

band. On the other hand, it may in both instances be demonstrated from the context, that the opinion expressed by the Romish cardinal Cajetan is just, when he says: *Verba Apostoli esse accipienda regularitur, non autem in casu.* For additional information, see Gerhard, Tom. xvi. p. 158. The Romish church further grounded its view upon those texts of the gospels in which the commandment of Christ is delivered without the exceptions being annexed, Mark x. 11; Luke xvi. 18. On that point, compare what was said above, p. 331. Now, if this positive proof is of little weight, of still less is the mode of interpreting our text, and Matt. xix. 9. According to Bellarmine, the words there may be taken as either exceptive or negative. In the first case, he says, we should have to think of a *demissio quoad thorum*, and the difficulty would thereby be done away. But this supposition cannot be maintained, for the Pharisees, who ask the question, thought only of a separation *quoad vinculum*; and, in general, we must everywhere, except when some definitive clause is added, suppose a separation of that kind, as such only was known. It must be added, that at Matt. xix, 9, there follows immediately upon the exception, *καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλην*, which, pursuant of that exception, must also be conceded to the party who, on account of adultery, has parted from the other, considering, as we saw, p. 336, that the words of Christ point not so much to separation itself, as marriage after it. Moreover, supposing the words to treat merely of separation *quoad thorum et mensam*, *they are equally transgressed by the*

Romish church, for it permits *such* separation on many other grounds besides the *πορνεία*.

Hence, even the polemical divines of the Romish church are more disposed to take *παρεκτός* and *εἰ μή,* (or *μή,*) negatively as they say, which means that the Saviour, by this parenthesis, only intends to express, that in the special case of a separation on the ground of adultery, he does not here deliver any judgment. There results, accordingly, the same construction of the words which we found given by Augustine. But who could ever be brought to believe, that were a legislator to declare, "whosoever commits a murder, barring the case of a murderous assault upon himself, deserves death;" he considered the action, even in the excepted case, worthy of death, but only reserved to some future time the declaration of his opinion to that effect? Adultery being a *de facto* divorce, must, in whatever way we view the matter, be looked upon as constituting an exception. The Catholic interpreters of modern times, sensible of the unsatisfactory nature of the ancient expositions, have accordingly had recourse to other shifts. Gratz follows the lead of Dr. Paulus, and understands by the *πορνεία*, an antenuptial violation of innocence. The acute Hug, in his *Commentatio de conjugii vinculo indissolubili* (Freiburg 1816), takes advantage of the variation of the text in Matt. xix. 9, in order to argue, that the exception there is an additamentum. One becomes curious to know what advantage the learned author deduces, even from the admission that it is, seeing that at least

in our text, the *παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας* must remain critically unimpinged. Now, upon this he explains himself as follows: "At the opening of his ministry Jesus designed to embrace preliminarily the Schammaite construction of the Mosaic law; and hence declares, that with respect to divorce, he requires nothing more than what, when rightly interpreted, Moses does. Afterwards, however, when the people's minds were more prepared for a stricter exposition, he went back to the original institution of marriage, according to which he was obliged to declare the bond to be indissoluble. The former ordinance has been preserved to us solely by that Evangelist, who wrote his gospel principally for Jews." Still farther did Jäger carry this wilfulness,^a who, along with sundry very unsound interpretations which he suggests, maintains that not only the *εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ πορνεία*, but also the *παρεκτός κτλ.* in our passage are interpolated.^b

On this point, likewise, we find the great bulk of

^a *Untersuchung ob die Ehescheidung nach der Schrift und der Kirche allerer Geschichte erlaubt sei*: Arnstadt, 1804.

^b How difficult the Romish church found it to justify *exegetically* her principles on the subject of divorce, appears in a very interesting manner, from the report which Sarpi gives of the Discourse of Sota upon the subject in the Council of Trent. (Hist. Conc. Trid. vii. § 73.) Sota exposed himself to the application of the proverb, *Cui multipliciter respondetur, non semel bene respondetur*, by giving a long catalogue of possible explanations without any decision upon them, and then taking refuge in tradition. That, however, is invalidated by the counterpoise of the Greek church.

reformers returning back to the simple result of the declarations of Scripture. From Luther we have principally to quote the exposition he has given of the sixth commandment in the short form of the ten commandments, of the year 1520:^a “*Three causes know I, which divorce man and wife, The first, conjugal impotence; The second, adultery; The third, wrongful desertion.*” With reference to that sort of separation, of which I Cor. vii. 10, 11, speaks, viz. which is not the consequence of adultery, and hence not followed up by a second marriage, this good man, advising the injured person not to separate from the other, says: “Now, in such a case, were one party, of great Christian strength, so as to bear with the other’s malice and wrong, would it not be to him a blessed cross, and a proper way to heaven? Such a spouse doth well fulfil a devil’s office, and tries the man who is aware of and endures it.” Further, in answer to the question, whether an impotent husband may be put away, and another taken: “No, never; Serve God in waiting upon the poor man, and be persuaded that in him he has sent a sacred thing into your house, whereby you may win heaven.” We must farther instance from this Reformer what he says in the *Schrift von Ehesachen*.^b Compare above, p. 349. Consonant are the observations of Calvin. In the Comm. on Matt. xix., for example, he says: *Elephantiasin volunt justam repudii causam esse, quia morbi contagio non modo ad maritum, sed et ad liberos perveniat. Ego autem sicuti pio viro consulo ut ele-*

^a Walch x. s. 721.

^b Walch x. s. 949.

phantiacam uxorem non attingat, ita ejus repudiandæ licentiam non permitto. Si quis objiciat, opus habere remedio, qui cœlebes vivere nequeunt, ne urantur, dico : *Remedium non esse quod extra Dei verbum quaeritur* : Addo etiam nunquam illis defore continentiae donum, si Domino se regendos tradunt, quia sequuntur quod ille præscripsit. Consonant also is the opinion of Beza, expressed in his ably composed treatise, *De repudiis et divortiis*.^a He here declares adultery and the *desertio malitiosa* as the alone competent grounds for breaking a first, and forming a second marriage. In this respect, Melancthon among Lutherans, and Zwingli and Bucer among the Reformed, appear more indulgent. On Matt. xix. Zwingli says : *Dominus enim temerarium repudium Judæorum hic damnat, non omne repudium. Neque unam duntaxat causam excipit, tametsi unius tantum meminerit. Hic enim mos est Hebræorum, ut sub inferiori similia et graviora omnia intelligant et exprimant. Minimam ergo causam adulterium seu fornicationem assignat, quasi terminum ponens infra quem nemo uxorem repudiare debeat.* Equally compliant is likewise Bucer, both in his Comment. on Matt. xix., and in the work *de Regno Christi*, addressed to Edward VI., and to be found in the *Scriptis Anglicanis*, where, in the second book, he treats the subject of marriage at great detail. In the most decided manner, he too insists upon the capital punishment of adulterers, confutes those who object : *nunc esse tempus gratiæ et lenitatis*, expressly requires

^a Opusc. Theol. T. ii.

that the guilty party shall never more be received back, appealing on this point (but of which appeal Beza shews the futility) to Deut. xxiv. 3. On the other hand, however, he extends to a great length the liberty of divorce, and concludes from the exception adduced by Paul :^a *Atqui si constat, ut constat, vel unam ab causam aliam quam fornicationis, justum concedi fidelibus divortium, jam certum est, facultatem faciendi divortii legitimi haudquaquam in sola fornicationis causa consistere. Deinde dubitari non potest, ut et supra ostendi, ab iis, quibus datum est de Deo et ejus judiciis ex ipsius statuere verbo, quin Deus, quæ salutis remedia ullis unquam electis suis concessit et præcepit, eadem præcipere et concedere omnibus omnium sæculorum hominibus, qui ejusmodi remediis pariter opus habeant. At quis rerum humanarum expertus ausit dicere, non etiam hodie reperiri et viros et mulieres, pacto conubii consociatos, qui sint duro corde, adeo ut conjugalem dilectionem ejusque dilectionis necessaria officia obstinate nolint suis conjugibus, quamvis probis, et fidem matrimonii sancte servantibus præstare ?*

We come now to the most recent times, and have to notice Grotius as forming the transition. Entertaining the same scruple as Origen, he is disposed to look upon the exception here stated as only an instance of the kind of causes which justify a divorce, although, on the other hand, as is so frequently the case with him, he feels himself drawn away towards

^a De Regno Christi, l. ii. c. 26, in Script. Anglic. ed. Basil. 1577, p. 114.

the Catholic view. For often do the two biases, the one to the rationalist, the other to the catholic construction of Christian doctrines, contend in this author. The opinions of moderns upon the subject are to be found in Mosheim's Moral, Th. viii. s. 319, Christ. Aug. Crusius Moral, Th. ii. s. 1605, Reinhard's Moral, Th. iii. p. 455, Stäudlins Moral, s. 459, Flatts Moral, s. 577, et a. l. Schwarz speaks most beautifully of all upon the nature of Christian marriage in his Ethick, Th. ii. s. 324.

Two different arguments have more especially been employed in modern times to extend the two Scripture exceptions. It is most usually urged that Christ delivers his precept only on the supposition that the power of divorce, as was then the case among the Israelites, is vested in the hands, not of the magistracy, but of the husband, who, as both plaintiff and judge in one person, might abuse his right. There was therefore a necessity for endeavouring, by the utmost possible restriction of the exceptions, to prevent all such abuse. No necessity of the kind, however, exists, if the matter fall to be decided by an impartial magistrate. When Gerhard peremptorily replies to this: *Contrarium ejus, quod Christus pronunciat, magistratus statuere nec potest nec debet; statueret autem si alias divortii causas introduceret, quia hæc duo contradictorie sibi invicem sunt opposita*, the question arises, In how far a *Christian* magistracy ought to identify itself with the church, and consequently treat all its subjects as Christians? which is a question very hard to settle. The purpose we have in view, does not require us to enter upon it.

We only need to take the saying of Christ in the connection in which it stands, to arrive at the certain conviction that it is nowise a mere temporary law which is here spoken of. The *πλήρωσις* which Christ gives to the Old Testament precepts consists just in his unfolding their inmost, their eternal, essence, and shewing forth the spirit of all moral laws. To demonstrate this more especially of the law of marriage, we may besides appeal to the facts that at Matt. xix. the Saviour expressly declares that he restores the original marriage relation, and that at Mark x. mention is also made of the separation of the wife from the husband, which text Paul quotes as the word of the *Lord*. Now, inasmuch as, according to what was said, p. 336, the woman had not then the power of separating, the precept also looks forward to future times. It is, accordingly, obligatory upon the conscience of every disciple of Christ, even in cases where a Christian magistracy, with a regard to the *σκληροκαρδία*—*i. e.* to avoid worse consequences—deems itself obliged to exercise a greater indulgence. If the question, however, arise, Whether *the Church* ought to recognise any kind of divorce and second marriage, which contravenes the commandment of Christ, the nature of the answer depends upon the views which are held with respect to the church, and upon the degree in which its members are required to live up to the idea of members of it. But this much we may, at all events, lay down, that the church should not pass altogether unnoticed such a transgression of the Lord's

precept, but ought to impress upon the transgressor's heart, and by the manner in which she consecrates the second disallowed marriage, give him to understand, that she does not recognise that as purely Christian, and consequently cannot accord to it her full benediction. Much will, nevertheless, depend upon the various circumstances which are urged, and make the case more or less questionable.

Now, while this first argument for widening the exceptions, materializes too much the Lord's precept, by giving it a mere temporary intention, a second spiritualizes it to an equal excess. Many suppose that *πορνεία* must be understood according to the spiritual sense which Christ gives to it at ver. 28. But, against this speaks, on the one hand, the boundless latitude which the precept would then receive. Would not Christ have set open the door for the indulgence of a far greater licentiousness than even the legislator of the Old Testament, had he permitted the one party to judge, when an inordinate desire was kindled in the heart of the other, and to demand a separation in consequence? On the other hand, it can by no means be inferred from the Saviour's declaring, that the first rudiments of each sinful desire belong to the same category with the deed, that in every case he means to denote, by the words which in common language are used for the outward deed, not only that, but at the same time also its very faintest commencements. Shall we then, in compliance with ver. 22, say that, every time he spoke of *Murder*, he likewise comprehended under the term, un-

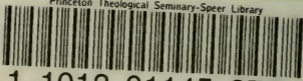
lawful *Anger*? We have besides seen that ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτήν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, when strictly taken, means, “ He has already committed a *particular sort* of adultery.” Let any other saying of Christ or Paul be produced, where the words πορνεία and μοιχεία are no more used to denote the external act, but the mere bias of the mind. Comp. Mark vii. 21; 1 Cor. vii. 2; 1 Thess. iv. 3; Col. iii. 5. Whereas, when we understand πορνεία of the *act* of adultery, the exception proves itself to be founded in the nature of the thing. See above, p. 331.

In a very masterly and fundamental way, has this subject been lately treated in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*. The essay is entitled: Christ and our own times, in reference to the conjugal bond betwixt parties divorced.^a Steudel has added several restrictive observations in the *Tubinger Zeitschrift, der Evang. Fac.* 1830.

^a Jahrgang, 1829. No. 22—25.

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